EARL BROWDER ON RUSSIA

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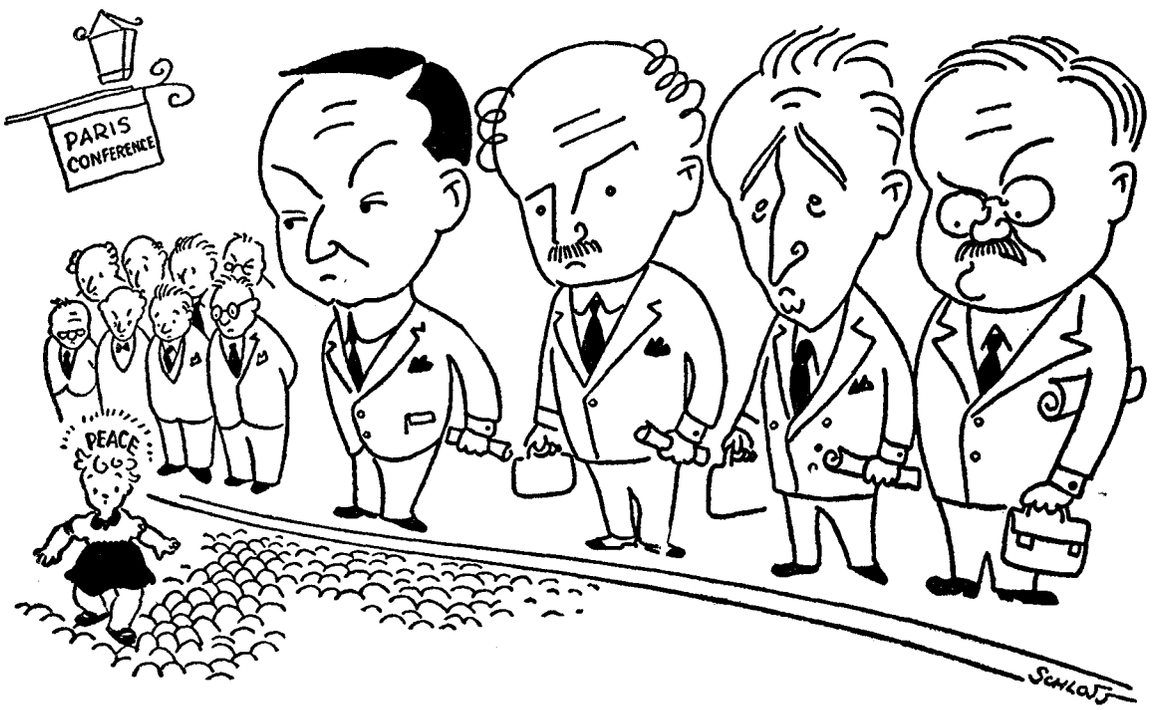

Russia Reconverts

The second in a series of six articles

by EARL BROWDER

Sideshow at Paris . . . . . *Jack Winocour*

Facts about Cold Cures . . *R. M. Cunningham, Jr.*

Chester Bowles in Politics . . . *Elizabeth Donahue*

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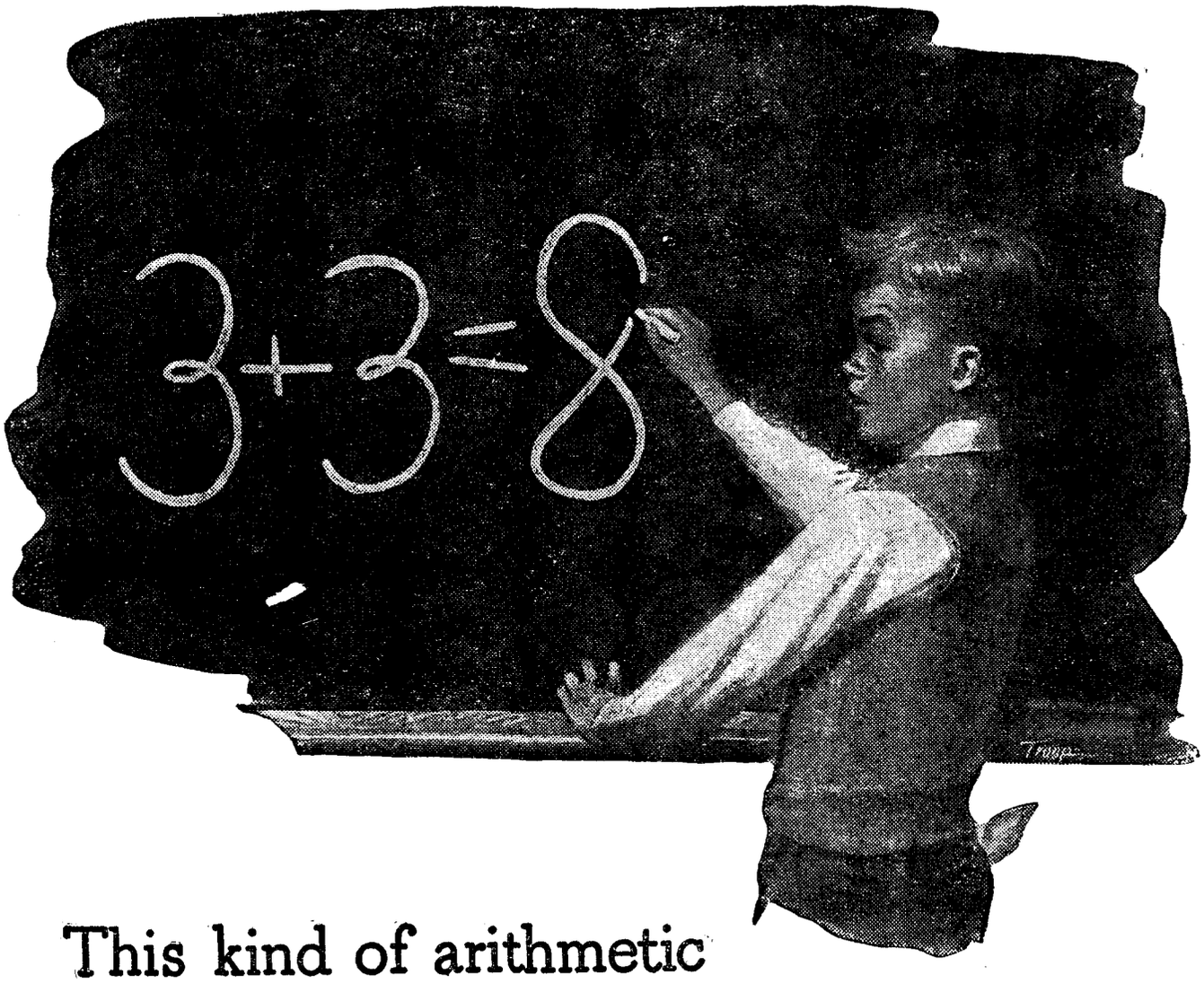

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Job They Left Behind

CONGRESS has gone home for the year without doing anything to provide millions of American citizens with decent homes, adequate medical care, social security protection, or a minimum living wage. Because of the failure of Congress to act on President Truman's legislative program, millions of other Americans won't be able to get jobs they deserve or to vote. Many children in poor states will continue to get little or no education. These are some of the more dramatic results of the failure of the last session of Congress to face up to the problems confronting it. In addition, the nation as a whole is left in danger of inflation and the likelihood of another era of boom and bust. No provision has been made to organize research in the interests of the people, one of the primary needs of the country. Congress passed many bills, and some very good ones. But with few exceptions, the public-interest legislation that got through was twisted and torn in the process. Some was passed that was directly contrary to the people's interests. While Congress sidetracked most of the social and economic legislation designed to provide a better life for the citizens of this country, it found time to pass a bill to forfeit, in the interest of the oil companies, the government's claim to rich tideland oil fields. Only a presidential veto saved the public interest.

Science

During the war, with government financing and direction, modern science made great advances. One of the most important pieces of legislation before the last session of Congress—the Kilgore-Magnuson bill—would have set up a National Science Foundation to provide similar scientific progress during peacetime.

This bill not only would have provided federal financing for research in the public interest, but would have authorized appropriations to train new scientific personnel. Trained scientific manpower, never too plentiful, has been seriously depleted by the war and by the interruption of education.

Throughout the session, the bill was subjected to sniping from those who want private, rather than public, control of science and the products of science. The bill finally passed the Senate, but died in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee—a committee which has frequently served the interests of monopoly.

Failure of the legislation means that scientific research will dwindle. Much of it will be left to industry, which concentrates on the profit-producing area of science at the expense of non-profit research in the public interest.

Housing

With some 8,817,000 families living in substandard homes and millions of others packed into overcrowded dwellings, this postwar Congress did little to correct the housing crisis which has been developing for years and has reached serious proportions during the war. The Patman bill—passed by Congress in a weakened form—succeeded in getting a veterans' program under way, but progress has been slow. Housing Administrator Wilson Wyatt has had to buck rising costs in building materials and labor shortages which have delayed his construction goal of 2,700,000 homes by the end of 1946.

In the midst of the housing crisis, the House Banking and Currency Committee stopped action on the Senate-passed Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill for a nation-wide housing program. The bill would have aimed at the construction of more than a million-and-a-half new houses during the next ten years. The program, which would have cost the government about $143 million a year, covered low-rent public housing in urban areas, redevelopment of slum and blighted areas and a comprehensive housing program for farmers and others of low income in rural areas. By liberalizing the present FHA rental housing program, the bill encouraged mortgage lending for rental housing.

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Spearheaded by Representative Wolcott, the Republicans on the House committee used every "filibuster" method to keep the bill from being reported out. That Congress refused to enact a long-range housing program was one of the greatest victories for special-interest lobbyists this session.

Health

A large proportion of the American people doesn't get adequate medical care, in this the world's richest nation, because it is too expensive.

Repeated studies have shown that many families in the lower and middle income brackets cannot afford the care they need to keep in good health. In many areas, because of low general income, there is a serious shortage of doctors, dentists and hospitals.

Legislation to set up a national health insurance system to cover most American citizens was pushed in Congress, with support from President Truman. Hearings were held for months but nothing was done, chiefly because of opposition from the medical profession.

Meanwhile there are more than 23 million people in this country with chronic diseases; and the average industrial worker loses 10 to 12 days a year because of illness or injury. Almost 40 percent of the nation's manpower is unfit for military service. Adequate medical care would make many of these people fit for service.

Security

For more than 10 years the social-security law has offered some measure of protection to millions of American workers in periods of unemployment and during old age. But the protection afforded has been inadequate in the face of rising living costs, and many of the economic hazards of life, such as permanent disability, have not been included in the program.

Furthermore, 20 million workers, including domestics, farm workers and the self-employed, have not been protected under the old-age insurance system. For several years the Social Security Board has been recommending, and legislation has been pending in Congress to authorize, a broad program to cover all of the major economic risks of workers and to include groups not now covered.

This program was embodied in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which provided insurance to cover temporary or permanent illness or disability and set higher levels of benefits under every section of the law.

The program was bottled up for years in the conservative House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees. But last session the House committee finally tackled some of the proposals, after a year's study of the problems by its own experts.

Working behind closed doors, the Committee turned down or ignored virtually all of the major recommendations of the Social Security Board. Only comparatively minor changes in the law were approved.

Congressional inaction leaves two out of every five workers outside the old-age-insurance system and results in inadequate benefits for those that are covered. Workers will still be unprotected from one of the major economic hazards of life—permanent disability.

Education

Some five million school children, primarily in the South, are not receiving adequate education. In spite of the fact that some low-income states spend a high percentage of their total income for education, 20 percent of the nation's children are getting less than the generally accepted minimum standard of $40 per pupil per year. Georgia, for example, taxes itself more heavily than New York to finance its public schools, but the money spent per child is much lower.

An effort to equalize educational opportunities for such states was blocked in both the Senate and the House this session. Senator Lister Hill's bill, which was reported out of the Senate Education Committee but never reached a floor vote, provided a $40-per-pupil minimum through variable grants-in-aid which would eventually have distributed $250 million among the needy states.

In the last days of the session, Senator James E. Murray introduced a comprehensive 10-year plan for federal aid to education. The program, which would cost the government a sum increasing from $500 million the first year to $1 billion in the tenth year, aims to correct such basic defects of our educational system as low teaching salaries and financial inability of many worthy students to continue education. The bill would set national minimum salaries for public school teachers and provide for scholarships and fellowships in higher education, expansion of educational facilities and camps for poor children. The failure of Congress to pass the more limited and desperately needed bills leaves little hope that this one will receive congressional approval even during the next session of Congress.

Discrimination

The 13 million American Negroes and millions of other minority citizens face the danger of discrimination whenever they seek a job above the lowest types of labor. Except in two or three states there are no laws to protect these citizens in their basic economic rights.

During the past session of Congress the wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee, which en-

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deavored to eliminate such racial and religious discrimination, expired. Strong efforts were made in both houses to pass legislation creating a permanent agency of this kind with power to enforce its regulations. But Southern filibusters blocked action.

As a result there is no agency to see to it that Negroes and other minority citizens get a fair break in employment even within the government which they help to support. They remain "second class" citizens economically.

Wages

The 40-cent minimum wage which Congress established in interstate industries before the war to prevent the exploitation of workers has become almost meaningless in the face of rising prices and the current cost of living.

One of the Administration's strongest drives was directed at getting legislation to raise the minimum wage from 40 to 65 cents an hour and to extend the protection of the law to about four million additional workers.

The bill got through the Senate in modified form, but ran up against a filibuster in the Southern-dominated House Rules Committee. This means that millions will have to continue to live on sub-standard wages, and face pay cuts whenever depression hits.

Ballots

Poor citizens suffer not only from inadequate housing and other economic disadvantages: In seven Southern states they also find it difficult to exercise their basic civil right of voting because of the formidable barrier of the poll tax.

Failure of these eight to ten-million people to vote contributes to the political system that makes them live under sub-standard conditions, without the schools, the hospitals, the education they need to improve their condition.

Once again, last week, a minority of Southern Senators used the filibuster to prevent Congress from outlawing the poll tax in federal elections. But the Southerners could only get away with this because other Senators refused to apply the Senate rule for breaking up filibusters—the cloture rule.

The showdown came on a vote to apply cloture and force the anti-poll-tax bill to a vote. It required a two-thirds vote, but enough Senators from other sections joined with the Southerners to block it. The vote was 39-33, with 26 Democrats and seven Republicans voting in the negative.

The Last Dark Deed

A reluctant Senate was forced last week to accept compulsory jurisdiction by the World Court over international legal disputes involving the United States. But it attached a limitation that welches on the promises of international coöperation we have been offering to the world so freely.

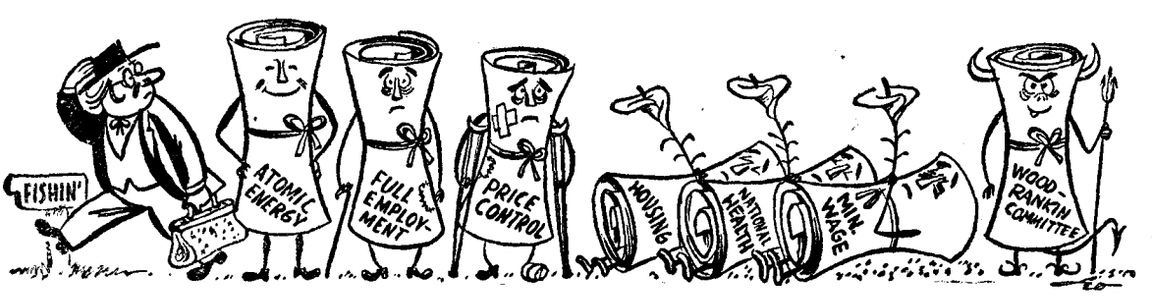
This vital peace issue was forced to a vote by Senator Wayne Morse (R, Ore.), its author, at a time when Senate leaders were obviously preparing to ignore it and go home. Almost single-handedly, Morse compelled the Senate to act on his resolution, which is fundamental to the settlement of disputes under law, rather than by force.

But the Senate's leading spokesmen on foreign affairs—Chairman Tom Connally (D, Tex.) and Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R, Mich.)—who had tried to keep the resolution from coming up, succeeded in adding a reservation that goes far toward nullifying its effect. By this amendment the United States reserves the right to decide whether a given dispute involves domestic issues, and if so, to deny the court judisdiction.

The Senate's own Foreign Relations Committee had reported that such a reservation "would tend to defeat" the whole purpose of the resolution, pointing out that it would permit the United States to "withhold any case from adjudication on the plea that it is a matter of domestic jurisdiction." And Senator Elbert Thomas (D, Utah), who was in charge of the legislation, had warned that:

"Until we demonstrate in concrete fashion our willingness to accept the impartial decision of the court, we may have a hard time explaining to the small states in particular the apparent disparity between what we say with respect to world peace and what we are actually willing to do about it."

The newspaper headlines reported a victory for world peace by a vote of 60-2. But the real story was told in the 51-12 vote by which the Senate added the Connally amendment.



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Going Four Ways at Paris

THE FIRST WEEK's preliminaries at the Paris Peace Conference have demonstrated above all how tenuous is the Big-Four agreement on which the remaining 16 allies must now proceed to construct the peace treaties. Messrs. Byrnes, Bidault and Molotov and Mr. Bevin's replacement, Hector McNeil, have thus far not shown any semblance of unity and collaborative support of the unhappy compromises that were worked out during the long sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers. The foreign ministers are in for some unhappy hours as the lesser nations, under the leadership of the Australian gadfly, Herbert V. Evatt, further expose the fact already known to the world: that the Big-Four compromises were actually satisfactory to no one.

On the basis of this first week, it now appears possible that the conference at Paris, rather than contributing solidly toward peace, may further inflame the suspicion and mistrust between Russia and the West. The Byrnes reservation that the United States may yet elect to follow the dictate of a two-thirds vote of the full conference rather than the prior agreements of the Council of Ministers no doubt has caused Molotov many misgivings. The Soviet foreign minister made evident such discontent in his complaint directed toward Britain: "I cannot understand how England can vote one way in the Council of Ministers and fail to abide by that vote here."

The difficulty at Paris, of course, stems from the reality that neither Russia nor the Western democracies went to Luxembourg with any honest expectation of establishing eternal peace in Europe. Failing that high ideal, they are concerned now with confirming and consolidating by the treaties new and temporary alignments of power. The ironic factor is that Europe, which itself bred self-destructive forces of conflict for a millenium, now seems about to be tortured by the friction of two powers, neither of which are European: Russia and the United States.

In the midst of this friction, the lesser powers can hold but little hope for imposing on this meeting their most idealized proposals for final settlements. The Big Four individually dislike and disparage the product of their joint compromises of last month; but collectively they will no doubt be compelled to impose these compromises on the conference. For to do otherwise would be to pry the lid off Pandora's box.

But whatever frictions exist and are yet to develop among the great powers and their followers, it is important that the conference get on with its work and write treaties—some kind of treaties—for Italy, Hungary, Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria. Toward this objective, the Canadian prime minister, MacKenzie King, has advanced a constructive proposal—that the Big-Four Council of Ministers should meet intermittently during the peace conference to facilitate agreement. A similar although less formal device worked effectively during the United Nations meeting at San Francisco. If there is hope of conciliating differences among the Big Four, the effort should be made continuously by the foreign ministers in such sessions. Only conflict results from the mustering of voting strength for dramatic showdowns from which no one emerges the victor.

Palestine: Stalemate Again

PRESIDENT TRUMAN was well advised to recall the American experts from London for further consultation about the fate of Europe's Jewry and the newly proposed partition plan for Palestine. His action may successfully block the British-inspired scheme for a federal regime in the Holy Land and raises again the hope that the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews into Palestine which he originally sought, may become feasible. So many setbacks have arisen over Palestine and the refugee problem in general, that a stalemate at this time may lead to even greater violence in the mandate. Only if the President and the American public become more fully aware of their responsibilities toward Palestine, however, will further delay lessen the suffering involved.

Few observers anticipated that Britain or the American officials who were sent to London would evolve a partition plan, making immigration of the 100,000 Jews conditional upon acceptance by the United States of the new scheme. Partition was rejected a decade ago by the British government after the Peel Commission offered it as a permanent solution. The Anglo-American Commitee of Inquiry also rejected partition in as strong language as was used throughout its recent report. In principle the federation which is now proposed is much like that recommended by the Peel investigators. Providing for separate Jewish and Arab territories, the mandatory government would rule over these in a supervisory capacity and control more exclusively certain enclaves like Jerusalem and other holy places. But now a British sector is to be created in the south along the Egyptian border, nearest to the Suez Canal.

The separate areas would be, if anything, less workable than those designed by the Peel Commission. The scheme is open to the same criticisms brought against the former partition plan, and since Palestine has been the focus of intense struggles in the past ten years, the present suggestions are subject to even sharper objections. Zionist sympathizers have since raised the demand for a politically independent Jewish state, and if the Peel report meant a Homeland without Zion, the same is true today. The Arabs for their part have

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found common cause in combatting Zionist aims in Palestine, and the Arab League has risen to challenge either more Jewish immigration or any solution like partition. Whether or not the President totally rejects the work of the London experts, it is almost certain that the Arabs and the Zionists will do so. But having refused to acquiesce in the plan, what can the President do to recoup his own position and contribute to solving the tangled Palestinian problem?

The *New Republic* pointed out in an editorial, "A Program for Palestine," on July 15, that no final solutions can be devised at this time. The many forces at work in Palestine and the Middle East appear almost irreconcilable. Yet President Truman should still insist upon immediate entry for the 100,000 stranded Jews in Europe. Other refugees must also be cared for, but there is now some hope that the United Nations Assembly will tackle this problem in September. Even if it does, America and Britain will still remain chiefly responsible for seeing that adequate steps are taken to rescue the half-million displaced persons in Europe. We have suggested before that Palestine should be speedily transferred to the United Nations when its Trusteeship system is set up. Beyond this America should take part in aiding in the economic development of the country. If President Truman would back these policies the Palestine controversy can be lifted out of its present morass at once. Congress would then have to face squarely the issue of appropriations for a grant to Palestine. No other step would so quickly cut through the vagueness which now surrounds our official attitudes. If such appropriations were passed the government could then deal firmly with Britain about more permanent arrangements for Palestine.

Famine after UNNRA

MILLIONS of the same people that UNRRA food helped save this year face starvation during Europe's bleak winter unless international arrangements are worked out to finance continued relief shipments after UNRRA's expiration on December 31.

Here is the picture: to sustain a minimum standard of living, Europe must receive one billion, one hundred million dollars worth of food imports between August, 1946, and the harvest of 1947. UNRRA has available only about $300 million with which to procure food during the second half of 1946 and *no funds are available at all for 1947*. Equally important are needs for seed and fertilizer, agricultural equipment and fuel—the cost of all exceeding by almost three-quarters of a billion dollars the funds which UNRRA has available for these supplies.

With anticipated price rises in the United States, UNRRA's funds for food will be exhausted in October. For example, the price of lard has gone up 107 percent from June 29 to July 29. Fats, next to cereals, are the most important food imports and many countries have said they were willing to do without industrial supplies from UNRRA to get fats and oils.

So far, no plan has been adopted to solve the food crisis this winter. UNRRA recommends that part of it be taken care of through loans made by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development or other financial institutions. The State Department's plan for handling relief after UNRRA's expiration is to supply monetary aid for food by individual nations without an international organization. Fear has been expressed that since Canada and the United States will be the primary supplying nations, such bilateral action would encourage the development of economic blocs.

Food for Freedom, Inc., last week proposed the first comprehensive plan for relief after UNRRA. It provides that the United States take the initiative in creating a United Nations Food Fund Board, a temporary organization made up of UNRRA nations and others approved by the Social and Economic Council. The functions of such a board would be to: Authorize nations to apply to the Board for financial assistance; pro-rate and allocate the raising and distribution of funds; and supervise purchases and distribution so as to prevent discrimination and allow for the greatest freedom of national choice possible.

Assistant Secretary of State William Clayton recognized the need for such a plan to cover the post-UNRRA period when he declared (July 26): "I accept it as axiomatic that the world will not permit the people of any nation to starve as long as there is food enough to go around." He should take the lead in urging creation of a food board before the present international meeting at Geneva adjourns.

Bishop in The St. Louis Star-Times

"—And in this corner—!"

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Washington Wire—Three Dollars for the Kids

THE OLD 79TH DIED with parliamentary snarls and tricks, extended quorum calls, eulogies to those who will not return, political speeches and hokum and too much unfinished business left on the table. Of the President's 21 points on domestic policy, only six were approved. The 79th made history, however, in the field of foreign affairs. It made the dream of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt come true. The United States, thanks to the 79th Congress, is committed to the United Nations and to the principle of international coöperation. Every major foreign policy bill was approved. The Charter was ratified 89 to 2. UNRRA commitments were fulfilled. Bretton Woods and the British loan are on the statute books. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was extended. American membership in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and in the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization was approved. As a result of an earnest fight by Senator Morse (R, Ore.) the Senate by a vote of 60 to 2 pledged the United States to abide by decisions of the World Court. Morse carried on an almost singlehanded fight after Connally and Vandenberg had tried to bury the resolution in the Foreign Relations Committee.

Despite the gains, a hard core of isolationism remains, and there is little liberalism or imagination in the internationalism of Vandenberg and Connally. A majority in the Republican party is still isolationist. Two-thirds of the House Republicans voted against the British loan. There was powerful GOP opposition to UNRRA, Bretton Woods and the Trade Agreements Act. A major campaign has been won, but there are battles yet to be fought over the same ground.

On the whole, the American press showed that it had learned the lessons of isolationism. The role it played in the overthrow of the isolationists was important. Only on one issue did it take its cue from Colonel McCormick's Chicago *Tribune*. That was on the question of whether the State Department should conduct overseas broadcasts and propaganda and sponsor an exchange of students and professors. The mighty press associations thought that their commercial interests were in jeopardy. An effective publishers' lobby was organized to fight the bill. But after long delay and many amendments it was pushed through the House. On the final day of the session, Senator Connally tried to get it through the Senate. He was blocked by Senator Taft (R, Ohio), and the bill was killed.

I regret to record a shabby incident in which Senator Morse was involved. He made a rip-roaring political speech inviting Negroes back into the Republican party. According to Morse, the GOP was all sweetness and light whereas the Democratic party was a terrible thing. Much has been done by the Republican party for the Negro and nothing has been done by the Democratic party, Morse said with considerable passion and much reiteration. When he finished, Senator Langer (R, N. D.) jumped up and said he disagreed in toto with everything Morse had said. According to Langer, neither party has done anything for the Negro. The *Congressional Record* the next day carried only a watered-down paragraph or two of Morse's remarks. And it showed that Langer was in agreement "somewhat" with what Morse had said.

Morse has done some fine things as a Senator, but his constant harping on the virtues of his party, and this distortion of the record, do not add luster to his name. He might better have pointed out how Republican Senators, an hour before he spoke, helped Southern Democrats defeat the anti-poll-tax bill. This bill could be passed whenever the Republicans want it to pass. But when the test comes they always run out.

Perhaps they think that that is the best way to repay the Southern Democrats for their loyalty to the Republican party.

Nothing could be much worse than the record of Congress this year on social-security legislation. After much prodding, the House Ways and Means Committee authorized its technical staff to spend considerable time and money studying ways to improve the social-security system. The staff made its recommendations, and the committee voted them down. It then reported to the House a bill to freeze the old-age and survivors' insurance tax at one percent each on employees and employers. The Rules Committee voted a "gag" rule so that no amendments could be offered to the bill on the floor.

The Senate Finance Committee took the bill and made some noteworthy improvements. It adopted the "variable grant" feature of matching federal funds so that states that need the money most will get it. It added an amendment directing the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation to make a thorough study of the social-security system. It increased the federal grant for maternal and child welfare assistance.

When the bill got back to the House it met stubborn Republican opposition. Finally, the variable grant was knocked out along with the provision for a long-range study by the joint committee. The authorization for maternal and child-welfare assistance was cut by one third. In the place of the variable grant a five-dollar increase was voted for pensions for the aged and blind and a three-dollar increase was allowed for dependent children. It was a shoddy political compromise and additional testimony that the 79th Congress was not going to adopt any social-welfare legislation if it could help it.

Notes. – During the last hour of the Senate's life, when eulogies were in order, Senator Chavez (D, N. M.) paid tribute to Senator Shipstead (R, Minn.), who was defeated in the Minnesota primary. "Notwithstanding that he is a Republican, I have always considered him a loyal American," Chavez proclaimed.

Washington T. R. B.

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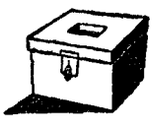
Political Roundup—A New Witch Hunt



ANOTHER witch-hunt is brewing in the House of Representatives. A group of Southern Democrats has succeeded in passing the resolution for an investigation of expenditures in the 1946 elections introduced by reactionary Representative James Domengeaux of Louisiana. Speaker Sam Rayburn had tapped middle-of-the-road Democrat Emmet O'Neal of Kentucky to introduce this standard election-year resolution and thus qualify as committee chairman. Eugene Cox of Georgia and his Republocrat gang, which controls the House Rules Committee, outmaneuvered the Speaker by favorably recommending Domengeaux's resolution to the floor and pigeonholing O'Neal's. Unless the Speaker upsets all tradition by naming someone other than the author of the resolution chairman, the House Investigating Committee will almost certainly be used to persecute the CIO-PAC and other political-action groups on the liberal side. Robert Barker, the former Dies Committee investigator who recently conducted Senator Ed Johnson's (D, Colo.) unsuccessful smear investigation of Leif Erickson's campaign against Senator Wheeler (D, Mont.), is bragging around the Capitol that his next job will be as chief investigator for the House Expenditures Committee when Domengeaux takes over.

Meanwhile, Senator Ellender (D, La.), chairman of the special Senate Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, has just returned home from an around-the-world jaunt and is expected to call a hasty meeting to check up on Senator Johnson's stewardship of the group in his absence. Ellender's friends and the Democratic National Committee are expected to advise a prompt retreat from the smear-the-CIO tactics used to date. If Ellender looks through enough waste baskets, he will find that Johnson has been filing official complaints in them during his absence. Candidates Collins and Carmack, who opposed Bilbo and McKellar in Mississippi and Tennessee respectively, can provide carbon copies of their petitions to the Committee, ignored to date, and the necessary facts about the violations in their campaigns if Ellender is interested.

Texas.—Supposedly objective observers as well as ardent supporters of Homer P. Rainey had expected him to make a much stronger showing in the first primary for the governorship last week. Even the more moderate of the fanatical Raineyites had expected their candidate to run first instead of the bad second he scored. Now that they have had time for a cold morning-after look at the facts, Texans rate the factors about like this:

1. Money—the No. 1 man in the primary, Beauford Jester, former railroad commissioner and now fair-haired favorite of big oil and other big money, had no shortage of blue chips. In his last campaign speech, Jerry Sadler, another candidate, charged that Jester had spent $500,000. Jester's money went into radio, newspaper advertising and a direct-mail campaign which put at least four pieces of Jester literature into every voter's mailbox. The last mailing, which went to a million people, was a reprint from "Pappy" O'Daniel's *News*, containing the wild charges of "communism" and "atheism" which were the theme song of the last few weeks of the campaign.

2. The outstanding runners-up, John Lee Smith and Grover Sellars, in effect ran interference for Jester's attack against Rainey. Thus Jester evaded responsibility for the "For Men Only" meetings Sellars ran for the reading of "lurid" passages from John Dos Passos' *USA*, which Dr. Rainey was accused of placing on the reading list at the University, but which many voters undoubtedly believed he wrote before the campaign was ended.

3. Governor Coke Stevenson turned over his personal machine among state employees to Jester. His influence will be of even more help in the run-off this month.

Jesse Jones and the whole of the Texas big-money crowd which tried to keep under cover in the first primary have now spread the word that they need the Texas Democratic delegation in 1948 and are prepared to put up any amount necessary to keep Homer Rainey from the governorship, and from the power to name that delegation.

There is a good chance for progressive victories in three of the run-off elections for Congress to be held August 24. Eighty-five-year-old Joseph F. Mansfield is likely to be defeated in the Ninth District by State Senator L. J. Sulak, who has a perfect labor record in the Legislature. Milton West, one of the chief reactionaries in the House, is thought to be in great danger of losing his 15th District seat to J. T. Ellis, who is running as a Progressive, making special issues of price control and housing shortages. Judge Sarah Hughes of Dallas, long a liberal leader there, ran first in the first primary race for the seat Representative Hatton Sumners is vacating, and is expected to hold that position over J. Frank Wilson, who is campaigning as a "Fighting Conservative."

Tennessee.—Close observers were not surprised by the margin of more than 75,000 votes by which Ed Crump's man, Kenneth McKellar, won reëlection to the United States Senate over Edward Carmack. Estimates of Crump's expenditures climbed to close to $500,000 in the last phase of the campaign. The boss was reputedly determined to roll up a bigger majority over Carmack than he did in Carmack's last race for the Senate. Payroll levies on state employees and large "contributions" from liquor and insurance companies and auto dealers made up a big part of Crump's war chest. Carmack had less than $25,000 in all. As noted above, Carmack's request for a Senate investigation of money spent on the election brought no action.

But the anti-Crump spirit is rising in Tennessee, as the veterans' uprising against the McMinn County machine demonstrates. The sheriff, the chairman of the local election committee and State Senator Paul Cantrell, have run that district for Crump for many years. The violence which occurred in Athens on Election Day was set off by the refusal of the organized veterans to stand by while their anti-machine slate of candidates was "counted out" by the sheriff and his gang.

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Sideshow at Paris

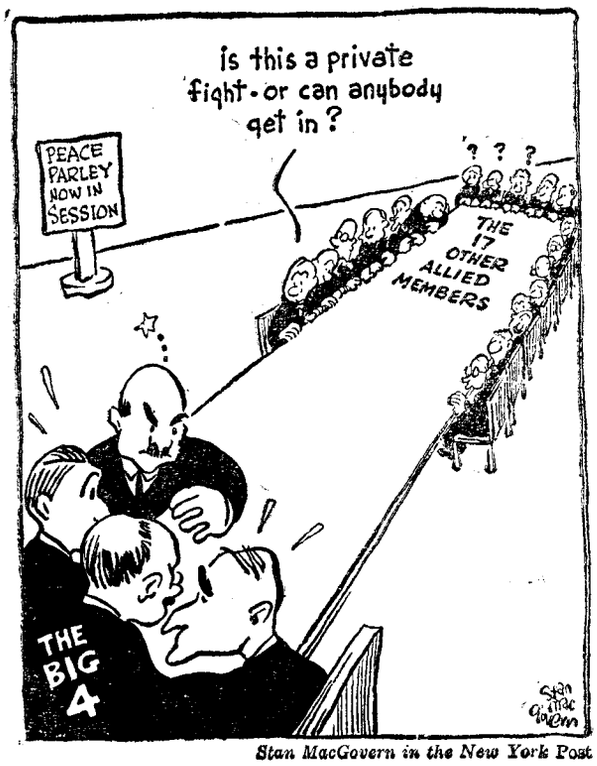
by Jack Winocour

Paris (by wireless)

ONCE AGAIN this gracious city, sparkling in the summer sunlight despite her shabbiness and paintlessness, has opened her arms to the peacemakers. Yet the Parisians' main preoccupation is with their physical existence and not with international politics, and their interest in the progress of the deliberations within the gray walls of the Palais du Luxembourg is slight.

On the opening day of the conference the scanty groups of local bystanders and wayfarers were outnumbered by bored *gendarmes* who watched the glossy limousines of foreign delegates roll under the archway into the Palace courtyard.

Paris 1946 is concerned with Europe's fringe, not with its heart, and for the French the real enemy still lies directly east of the Rhine, as General de Gaulle warned in his dramatic speech at Bar le Duc, timed for effect to coincide with the inauguration of the conference. In 1919 France was herself a major peacemaker. Today the weight of power has shifted to the Russian and American giants: France is the host of peacemakers by courtesy. In 1919 she could compel the presence of the Powers by virtue of her past military sacrifices and her present strength. Then three of the Big Four were European states. In 1946 it is left to Australia to seize the limelight as the defender of the lesser powers, and, at a distance of ten thousand miles, to seek to reëstablish the European equilibrium.



Stan MacGovern in the New York Post

While Dr. Herbert Vere Evatt gives a repeat performance of the rhetorical *tour de force* which brought down the San Francisco Opera House, other veteran members of the cast lean back resignedly in their neatly-ticketed national seats in the Luxembourg amphitheatre. Their faces are familiar by now to the corps of newspapermen and broadcasters who for their sins and for the enlightenment of the outside world listen wearily to the same speeches repeated in English, French and Russian from the highest gallery of the Luxembourg. By craning their necks or leaning perilously over the balcony edge they can just catch glimpses of Molotov, Attlee and Byrnes embedded among their attendant advisers.

As at San Francisco and the London United Nations Assembly meeting, the form and not the substance of debate is most frequently of public interest. Bewhiskered jokes about Molotov are once more current over the champagne which is served at a dollar the glass in the Hotel Scribe bar. You can forgive the lack of enthusiasm of some of the Washington and New York correspondents who have been trailing the peripatetic Mr. Byrnes ever since April 23, when the foreign ministers' council opened at Paris, and who want to return home to get some laundry done. They don't answer politely when it is suggested that the conference might last only six weeks.

No one seriously believes that the smaller nations can radically alter the published clauses in the draft agreements which the Big Four have already reached, but the discussion of the unagreed clauses, the fate of Trieste and the question of the amount of compensation for United Nations property losses in Italy, on which Russian and Anglo-American claims clash, may lead to protracted negotiations.

Another issue which may take time to resolve will arise if Molotov presses for the seating of the representatives of the Baltic Soviet Republics. Certainly the presence of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian ministers in Paris suggests that Molotov heartily dislikes Bevin's recent statement to Commons indicating the British desire that European trade flow in Mediterranean rather than Baltic channels.

It may well be that Attlee, Byrnes, Molotov and Bidault can match or (one hopes and prays) surpass

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Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando in human wit, but the scope of the conference of 1946 is infinitesmal compared to that of 1919. Today in Paris only Hitler's satellites, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland are being judged. This is not Versailles, although the final act of the conference will be celebrated there, but rather Saint Germain, Neuilly or Trianon, as the French press takes care to reiterate.

Paris 1946 will establish the political settlement for the periphery of Europe. New frontiers and demilitarized zones will provide for the temporary security of the victors. But Europe's sickness lies much deeper and will become incurable unless its root cause, the conflict of Russia and the Anglo-Americans over Germany's future, is resolved. Everybody at Paris knows this.

Report on Russia

II. The Problems of Reconversion

by Earl Browder

IT IS NOT EASY for Americans to appreciate the Soviet Union's problems of transition from war to peace. There is little in our experience to furnish a basis for comparison. If an American is told, for example, that the Nazis destroyed most of Soviet economy in territory formerly producing 40 percent of Soviet industrial output, and that this amounts to so-and-so-many billions of dollars, his first automatic thought is to balance it off against American war expenditures, and therefore to think of Soviet losses as less than American. He rarely is conscious of the fact that American war costs were paid out of increased production, and not by reduced living standards, and that this was the occasion for a vast expansion of our productive plant, not for its destruction. The Soviet war cost was, in the first place, in the destruction of the means of production, much as if American industries had been razed from the Atlantic Coast to the Ohio Valley. Any comparison of Soviet and American war costs and postwar economic problems in terms of dollars is, therefore, entirely misleading.

The United States has a housing crisis, for example, although there was no destruction of our dwellings by the war. What must be the housing problem in the Soviet Union, then, where great cities like Stalingrad were completely destroyed or, like Smolensk, had only two structures left with upright walls, and these gutted by fire? These were the conditions at the end of the war in an area formerly inhabited by 90 million Soviet citizens. When one faces such conditions in the Soviet Union he blushes to speak of an "American housing crisis." There is simply no comparison.

For any serious grasp of Soviet problems, one must understand that for the Russians war conditions did not end with the cessation of hostilities. Before they can begin to talk about "normal" peacetime life, they must rebuild their shattered factories, pump out and re-equip their flooded mines and reconstruct their destroyed railways and highways. They must live in improvised housing and dugouts and cellars while they are doing it, for only the rehabilitation of industry can provide a foundation for later replacement of destroyed homes by good modern housing. The Soviet peoples still live under conditions in which the war and its consequences predominate, rather than anything that can yet be thought of as "normal" peacetime living. And this situation will require from three to five years to cure.

Despite the size of this problem, no serious visitor to the Soviet Union can escape the impression that it is being solved, that it is under control, that progress can be seen from week to week and almost from day to day in the restoration of life in all its aspects.

For example: On May 20, I visited the ZIS automobile factory and followed the production through from the foundry to the last station on the production belt where finished trucks were given gas and driven off under their own power. I was informed that production was up to 150 trucks per day. Three weeks later the CIO delegation to the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions went through the same factory, and has reported on its return that production was 165 trucks per day. A 10-percent increase in production, in such a factory, over a period of 21 days is really something to take note of!

This is the second in a series by Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party of America, who was expelled from party membership this year.

The New Republic, *which believes in liberal democracy, is of course opposed on principle to communism. We publish Browder's series for its intrinsic interest and value.*

The third article, to appear next week, will discuss conditions in the seven countries in Europe most heavily influenced by Russia—Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

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In 1941, when the Germans were approaching Moscow, all movable machinery in that factory was evacuated to the Urals together with most of its skilled workers. None of that machinery has been returned; instead, it furnished the start for four other factories now about equal to the Moscow mother plant, which had to be largely reëquipped.

The ZIS plant, like most Soviet factories, suffers from a labor shortage. About 30,000 workers are now engaged in all departments (trucks, passenger cars, engines for other purposes, preparation of new models soon to go into production and plant reconstruction and extension), but 10,000 more, who are not available, could profitably be employed. I judged from my own observation that two-thirds of the workers were relatively new recruits, most of them girls in their late teens and early twenties. Obviously the level of skill was not uniform among them, and the plant is far from having achieved the productivity of which it is capable. Its product, however, is of a high quality. I had the feeling, going through the ZIS plant, that I was touching the pulse of the Soviet Union as a whole, with all its complex unsolved problems, its tremendous dynamic energy, its unlimited hopefulness, its firm grasp of realities, its steady progress in the face of what any American would consider terrific difficulties. It made for deeper understanding of the reality behind statistical tables.

It will be a few years yet before the Soviet Union can give central attention to satisfying the demand for consumers' goods. There has been much improvement over the subsistence rationing of the war years; the supply of goods daily swells in the market while prices come down—tendencies which contrast with the growing inflation in most European countries on which I was able to check. The new Five-Year Plan provides for considerable alleviation of the consumers'-goods shortage. However, it is clear that a few years will be required to repair the ravages which the war inflicted upon the standards of life of the masses.

I saw the problem of Soviet economic reconstruction and reconversion from another angle when I visited a collective farm some 40 kilometers from Moscow. It is a dairy and truck farm of about 2,000 hectares, combining 213 families. It sent 235 men into the army, besides giving 30 percent of its horses and nine out of eleven of its auto trucks; despite this, it increased its production during the war. The work was done by women, old people and children.

"Your men are beginning to return from the army, I suppose," I remarked to the farm manager.

"Yes," he said, "but less than half of them stay here. The others soon leave to take work in the new factories that are opening up. They became machine-minded in the army. They are no longer content to stay on the farm."

"Doesn't that leave you with a labor shortage?" I asked. "And don't you still have labor controls which limit the freedom to move from one job to another?"

"We still maintain labor controls where there is a labor shortage," he replied. "But we have no such shortage on the farm. As a matter of fact we have a labor surplus. The operation of the farm has been so rationalized that it requires fewer workers for increased production. As a matter of fact, we do not utilize our electrical milking equipment now, because it would render many of our women milkers superfluous when there is no demand for them elsewhere. No, we still have a labor surplus."

In this example can be seen a Soviet Union-wide phenomenon of the economic rise of collectivized agriculture, accompanied by a reduction of the agricultural population, with the surplus farm labor moving rapidly into new industry and the expansion of old plants. The fact that this movement of population takes the men first and that the women cling to the farms more tenaciously creates new social maladjustments which will take several years to solve. This is an unfavorable by-product of a process which is the very heart of the healthy expansion of the whole Soviet economy, and is a sign of its rapid and sound growth. Such contradictions are to be found in most aspects of Soviet life. Visitors who come only to look for the unfavorable side of these contradictions can, and of course do, paint a dismal picture of conditions under socialism. Thereby they transmit a completely false picture of that country and mislead their readers, even if what they say technically corresponds to the facts—as, in part, it often does.

This farm's record in the development of milk production interested me. It showed that when the collective was first organized, milk production per cow was very low, at 1,200 liters per annum. In 10 years, to 1939, this had been raised to 3,500 liters. During the war the yield had continued to rise; in 1943 it was 4,500, and in 1945 it reached its peak at 4,900 liters. The farm's specialist in animal culture, a young woman born on the farm and sent to college by its management, explained this progress in milk production. It is the result of, first, improvement of the breed of the herd and its standardization; second, improvement in feeding and care resulting from planned management; and third, improvement of the stables and technical equipment. These are examples of the application of science made possible by the collective-farming principle, by the size of the farm unit this made possible and by the close relations maintained thereby with the other social organizations.

At the end of our visit we had just left the chicken houses. "Are your hens reaching their quota of eggs under your plan?" I asked, recalling American cartoons ridiculing the idea of making plans as to the

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future performance of chickens. "Yes," came the reply, "they are exceeding it by more than 20 percent."

This farm disposes of 40 percent of its produce at fixed prices through the government agencies which carry on the basic rationing of the country. The other 60 percent it sells on the free market through its own retail stations in the city at prices fixed by supply and demand. This does not include the basic distribution in kind of its products to its own members for their own use, nor the individual production of separate families on their private plots and with their family animals. Besides the basic livelihood drawn directly from the farm, each worker received in cash five rubles for each working day in 1945, and the central administration accumulated in addition a half-million rubles for expansion, mechanization and improvements. This is a typical collective dairy farm, and illustrates the strength as well as the unsolved problems, new and old, of Soviet agriculture in the regions unoccupied by the enemy.

This favorable picture of Soviet agriculture must be seriously modified by noting that in the devastated areas of Nazi occupation Soviet livestock was almost entirely exterminated. Since this was the area of greatest livestock production, the result has been to reduce the national census of livestock to its lowest point since the first years of collectivization. This is a bottleneck in the agricultural economy which can be relieved only in the course of several years of intensive breeding accompanied by strict limitations upon consumption. The shortage of farm machinery caused by the war will be overcome long before the losses in livestock have been made good.

From these specific examples in the Soviet economic scene, it becomes more clear that the problems of reconversion and reconstruction are quite different from those in the United States, and that we obtain little understanding from drawing parallels between them.

I am bold enough, however, to generalize on two comparisons between Soviet and American problems and experience. I would say that in the field of technique the United States is able to solve, and is solving, its problems more rapidly than is the Soviet Union, but that this is being accomplished within a general economic framework which is becoming more and more unstable in its perspectives for the future. In the Soviet Union the technical problems of the postwar economy are being solved more slowly, although quite as surely, while the general economic framework becomes more and more stable, giving the population a profound feeling of certainty of direction and sureness in reaching its goal. Therefore, while there is in the Soviet Union a great deal more hardship than in America, there is also more hope and confidence.

The Militarist Gamble in China

by Lawrence K. Rosinger

Shanghai (by airmail)

WITHIN THE Kuomintang—the party which controls the Central Government at Nanking—there are a number of cliques struggling for personal advantage and power. But in terms of China's future development the only significant difference is between the dominant right wing and the politically weak, although numerically not unimportant, liberal wing. Between these groups there are also a number of leaders and ordinary members who deplore civil war and desire peaceful reconstruction, but advance their views only with the utmost caution, out of fear of the ruling elements.

It is quite clear from a first-hand analysis of the situation in Nanking that the government leaders who are most inclined toward a showdown with the Communists include Chen Li-fu and Chen Kuo-fu (party bosses of the Kuomintang), Pai Chung-hsi (Minister of National Defense), Chen Cheng (Chief of the General Staff) and Ku Chu-tung (Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Army). It is difficult to persuade the right-wing leaders to reveal their views directly to the press, but they occasionally express themselves frankly on particular subjects. In addition, informed persons who disagree with them are less hesitant in describing how the right-wing leaders think and feel. From these and other sources of information it is possible to build up a composite of the outlook of the dominant circles in the Kuomintang, although the picture may not correspond in detail to what every individual is thinking.

The main argument of the extreme conservatives is quite simple. They say: "We cannot wait. Fighting is bad, but continuation of the present political, economic and military stalemate is worse." In this way they attempt to justify civil war to the anti-war or vacillating groups by appealing to their desire for reconstruction. When the question is raised whether the Communists can be beaten quickly, they reply that this can be accomplished in from two to six months. They argue that the Communists, although possessing the best equipment they have ever had, were defeated at Szepingkai in Manchuria and that, inside the Great Wall,

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there is no place for them to secure arms, except occasionally from some nationalist troops whom they may capture. As for hopes of a peaceful settlement, they say: "Even if there were an agreement, it wouldn't work. Besides, there will be no agreement."

Actually it is doubtful whether the leaders of the belligerent group really believe, after their many years of experience, that the Communists can be beaten so quickly. They probably hope for a short campaign in which the Communist forces can be ejected from the North and Central China railway areas and from certain strategic points. This would lay the basis for renewed peace discussions, to be followed once more, after a period of consolidation, by a new campaign against the areas still retained by the Communists. It is a whittling-down policy in which fighting and talking are to alternate—or, more accurately, to be carried on simultaneously with varying degrees of emphasis at different times.

The militarists, however, are not really counting on their own strength, for the expectation of war between the United States and Russia in the next few years underlies their strategy. One anti-war official told me that the military camp can be divided into two groups: (1) Those who believe that civil war is certain, but who do not think in terms of American-Russian relations. These officers are often generals or persons of lower rank in the provinces, *i. e.*, on the actual civil-war front. Some of them view the situation simply in terms of raiding for crops or interfering with harvesting in the Communist countryside. (2) Those who are deeply conscious of Soviet-American relations and who feel that the United States and the USSR are certain to fight if there is civil war in China. This group is said to include most of the high officers. It is particularly important to note that its members are more than passive recipients of the "benefits" of Russian-American hostility. They regard it as in their own interest to promote this hostility by the threat of civil war.

AMONG THOSE who are opposed to civil war there are men like Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen and President of the Legislative Yuan, Shao Li-tze, an important figure in the current Government-Communist negotiations, those people who realize how grave China's economic problems would become if civil war should spread, and certain military men, including Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang and others. There are more differences among these men than among the more closely-knit right-wing group, but a composite of their views can, nevertheless, be given. Although the liberals are more numerous than is commonly realized in the United States, they have one thing in common: lack of decisive power. The civilians, no matter how high their positions, are merely individuals in a sea of reaction, while the progressive military men have in the past been deprived of active commands by the government.

Those who oppose civil war for economic reasons realize that extreme chaos might arise from expansion of the military struggle. One economic official said to me: "I know what the industrial and business people feel. . . . When real peace returns, one-half of our difficulties will have been solved." T. V. Soong's position is somewhat ambiguous. He undoubtedly fears civil war, but at the same time he pushes economic measures—such as the collection of the land tax in grain—which are needed for internal warfare and seeks from the United States ever greater assistance for a government dominated by the military.

THE KUOMINTANG LIBERALS differ sharply with the militarists on the possibility of defeating the Communists. They believe that even if forced from certain railway areas and strategic points, the Communist armies would advance elsewhere. Moreover, the liberals hold that the results of large-scale warfare in weakening the government would far outweigh the value of any particular successes. They think that after six months the Communist problem would be as alive as ever in China. One of them told me: "The Chinese like peace and democracy, but do not want communism. If the war goes on, the Communists will not be exterminated. If confusion and war continue, there will be more Communists."

The liberals also differ with the militarists on the prospects for future American-Russian relations, and believe that the right wing is miscalculating. Most think that American support to the Central Government would continue in the event of all-out civil war; others think it might stop, or are doubtful. But all believe that an American-Soviet war, if it comes, is much further away than the militarists anticipate. One official voiced this opinion in an interview with me: "Stalin is very smart, and if war seems imminent because the United States thinks Russia is going too far, he will retreat. It is possible that in 15 or 20 years there may be an American-Soviet war, but it certainly will not come soon."

Another liberal said to me more categorically: "The militarists think that through continuation of civil war they may stir up American-Soviet conflict. They feel that in this way their dictatorial power can be strengthened in China. This is one of their fantastic illusions. I am inclined to think there will not be a Soviet-American war. It is true that there are contradictions between the Soviet Union and the United States. Nevertheless, the people of America and of the USSR will not favor war." In general, Kuomintang liberals favor close relations with the Soviet Union and the United States. They do not want China to be a battleground for the two powers, but wish to be on friendly terms with both, to carry on peaceful reconstruction.

One of the crucial problems in this situation is to determine the attitude of the Generalissimo. Actually

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one hears very little about his views, partly because the head of the government is usually more remote than his subordinates, and partly because in China the government is not under the necessity of explaining itself in detail to the people. But no mistake should be made about the fact that the Generalissimo is the dominant figure in the government, towering above all others. It is noteworthy, for example, that while people in Nanking frequently discuss or speculate about the attitudes General Marshall or Communist representative Chou En-lai are taking in the negotiations, virtually no one asks what the government representative, Hsu Yung-chang, is thinking. The reason is simple: everyone knows that it is the Generalissimo's thinking that counts.

The Generalissimo's thoughts, however, can be deduced from the actions of his subordinates and from the very stiff terms he personally presented to General Marshall for transmission to the Communists about mid-June. It is also known that Chiang was personally in the forefront of the decision to collect the land tax in kind, contrary to the general understanding that the tax would henceforth be collected in cash. Collecting taxes in kind amounts to requisitioning grain from the peasants for the armies. From these and other facts, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Generalissimo, whose outlook has long been that of the right wing, finds himself at one with the belligerent elements within the government and the party.

The key to the current developments is probably held by the United States, whose material support serves to strengthen the pro-civil war group, although our stated policy is a conditional one of assisting the Chinese government in the degree that China attains peace and democratic unity. The interplay of the two wings of the Kuomintang, the Communists, the third-party liberals and the non-partisans is occurring largely within the framework of American policy. This places a special responsibility on the United States and makes it all the more important that American policy have the effect of promoting internal peace, not more widespread Chinese civil war.

Air Battle at Home

by David A. Munro

A MONTH AND A HALF after V-E Day, Lieutenant Hobart Cook, just out of the Navy, took off in his 14-passenger Lockheed Lodestar with a full load on the first of his regular daily flights between Hyannis, Massachusetts, and LaGuardia Field in New York, touching at Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. He was a quick success. In six weeks his one-airplane airline carried 278 passengers toward New York and 287 passengers northeastward to the Massachusetts islands. By August 4 of last year a total of 1,670 reservations had been sold for flights projected up to September 25, and reservations had been taken for 923 seats on a waiting-list basis.

These facts came out at the lieutenant's "trial." His case was heard by the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Board ordered him to cease and desist. He has since sold his plane and gone out of business—though not out of the fight. His business was taken over by Northeast Airlines, Inc., a member of the Air Transport Association and a recognized pillar of monopoly aviation. But the business of independent-airline operation pioneered by Lieutenant Cook has gone on—it now equals in mileage flown the "scheduled" operations.

Fortunately (for reporters), the entire hearing on Cook was conducted with refreshing frankness. There was little of the indirection by which big combines more fearful of public criticism get their way in the maze of the law and cover their tracks.

The machinery of the air monopoly went into action shortly after Cook placed advertisements in the New York *Times* and the New York *Herald Tribune*. These were saved to be entered in the record. The CAB showed itself interested in every index of response to the lieutenant's business solicitation. The CAB was naturally interested in his volume of business and his rates. After he had placed the advertisements, the CAB even checked his phone calls; there is entered in his record a showing that he had 2,424 incoming busy signals in one day, 3,138 in another. This was used against him. So was the testimony of an employee of Northeast Airlines who told the CAB examiners he had presented himself as a prospective traveler on the lieutenant's line and had been told that the service was regular.

It turned out that Hobart Cook's sins were dual. He had committed the sin, under the CAB, of offering a "regular" service—though it took some legal stretching to prove that he had announced that the service was regular—and he had done a thriving business in an area staked out by Northeast Airlines, Inc.

This whole business of staking out areas is the bone of contention between the independents and the estab-

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lished lines. In the case of Northeast and the service to the islands it was extreme. Even if you assume that competition is bad for aviation, as the CAB appears to do, Lieutenant Cook still seems to be within his rights. Northeast was not flying the route at the time he started his service. Northeast had never flown this route, nor had any other regularly scheduled airline. But Northeast had bought out the defunct Mayflower Airline for a reputed $10,000. This line once flew from *Boston* to the islands, with a CAB certificate of convenience and necessity for such service. Last year Northeast, which is a paid-up member of the all-powerful Air Transport Association, asked for a certificate to serve the islands from *New York* on the basis of what "rights" it had inherited from Mayflower. And last year, at the same time, Lieutenant Cook applied for a certificate for the same service—on the basis that his airline was actually performing it. The CAB, which is judge, jury and prosecuting attorney all in one, never for a moment let anyone doubt which side it was on. It permitted Northeast to intervene in the cease-and-desist order against Cook. It permitted the Air Transport Association to appear as *amicus curiae*. It ultimately awarded an *exclusive* franchise to Northeast. And now it has issued another regulation resulting from Docket 1501 which would apply to the rest of the independents the rules that forced Cook out of business. These independents have formed the Institute of Air Transportation, of which Lieutenant Cook is a vice-president, to fight for their business lives.

THE IAT, under the presidency of Brigadier General Lawrence J. Carr of Trans Caribbean Air Cargo Lines, took a full-page ad in New York and Washington papers asking the public and the Congress "Why Throttle Us?" and publicly offering to carry the mails—profitably—at three cents. The ad also listed what it said would be the effects of the proposed regulation: it would "prohibit the solicitation of general business, prohibit the advertising of flight information, prohibit information to the public about services offered, limit point-to-point flights to 10 per month, restrict such limited operations to the North American continent and prohibit all over-water international flights."

The advertisement promptly changed the entire political complexion of the case. Protests came from ordinary citizens against the treatment of veterans operating the new airlines—1,000 of them to date. The ubiquitous American Veterans Committee interceded with the CAB. So did the Navy, Coast Guard and Marine Corps Reserve Association, an organization with a million and a quarter members.

In the midst of this, President Truman had a chance to name a new chairman of the CAB with the resignation of L. Welch Pogue. He named James M. Landis, former dean of Harvard Law School and famed trouble-shooter for President Roosevelt. Landis is by no stretch of the imagination a friend of the scheduled airlines. His presence as chairman shifts the entire center of gravity of the CAB. In an Associated Press interview a month after he took office, Chairman Landis expressed his concern for both the new non-scheduled passenger carriers and for the new cargo carriers. Landis has nowhere permitted himself to be quoted, but Washington experts familiar with the career of this top-flight legal mind believe that he will end the reign of monopoly practices over American aviation—and incidentally end the control over the CAB exercised by the Air Transport Association.

CHANGING the aviation pattern is a big order, even for Chairman Landis, a veteran in handling highly controversial government agencies. Under the comforting wing of American monopoly air practices there are other interests. Labor is protected under the rules of the CAB in a fashion that it could never be if aviation were a free field: it is to the interest of the aviation unions to gang up with the major airlines—however they may dislike their bosses on other counts—against the independents. Revenues to the government are also protected under the present monopoly system, since the present eight-cent rate is hugely profitable all around. Second Assistant Postmaster General Gael Sullivan was very frank in denouncing the proposal to carry mail at three cents, saying that the loss of these profits would put the Post Office Department millions of dollars in the red. Meanwhile the profits to those airlines permitted by the CAB to carry mail—ATA members—are likewise huge. The CAB has set airmail rates at 45 cents a ton-mile, against a going, competitive air-cargo rate of 11 to 18 cents a ton-mile. This "subsidy," coming out of the public's pocket, provides the big airlines with the means for engaging in competitive practices at a loss, as well as what it takes to keep an effective lobby going in Washington and a word in the ear of important American newspaper editors.

The Institute of Air Transportation, Inc., speaks for "20,000 veterans [who] have built up a whole new industry within a year, without help of government subsidies." The newcomers fly 529 airline-type airplanes and 5,000 smaller planes, officials estimate. Aviation reporters also estimate that these "non-scheduled" carriers fly more revenue miles than the major airlines today. This body of men is highly important both in numbers and in prestige. Almost everybody is on their side—even most government officials. But unfortunately they have entered a monopoly field.

After these brash newcomers took full-page advertisements to tell their story to the public and to ask public support, the Air Transport Association quickly convened in Washington for a secret strategy meeting to consider, among other things, drastic revision of

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their lobbying procedures with the federal and local governments. The CAB was of course defensive and unfriendly. The spokesman for the Post Office Department called their suggestion for three-cent mail "silly—a 24-hour wonder" publicity stunt. And there was even a diversionary group that sprang up overnight, purporting to speak for the independents, too. The new group was the Independent Airfreight Association, formed of three independent, but big, cargo carriers who stated that they were against cut-throat price competition and that they, too, wanted to rid the skies of "the tramp ships of the air."

Meanwhile, American Airlines, the dominant force in the business, has been engaged in selling $80 million in stock to the public. This issue could be endangered by any reflection upon the value of the "franchises" American owns for domestic and foreign service, or by any move to reduce airmail payments to a fairer competitive rate. For a time American was a dangerous threat to the three cargo-carrying members of the Airfreight Association, but simultaneously with the formation of this association American has pulled out of the cargo business. Neither side has given any hint that there was a deal made, but the Airfreight Association has since provided the disquieting spectacle of an organization of independents fighting the independents.

Latest word from the CAB is that Chairman Landis has refused to be hurried into a decision. On August 1 the new rules which were to have been enforced and which would have had so serious an effect on all independent airlines became a temporary dead letter. Chairman Landis has let it be understood that the Board will come up with a final determination on the whole question of monopoly aviation by this fall.

Obituary for a Political Party

by Ronald Schiller

AS A POLITICAL PARTY it had never really had much homogeneity. It was swept into office in the wake of widespread economic depression. It was dominated by a great leader whose personality overshadowed the party and often the issues as well. It was supported by a precarious coalition which included such diverse elements as liberals, organized labor, people who favored free trade and opposed business domination of government, along with a potent bloc of reactionaries who were out of sympathy with the party's aims, but who voted the straight ticket as their fathers had done.

Promptly upon taking office the party inaugurated a reform program. In a few action-packed years before the war it legislated a revolution in the social and economic structure of the nation. It introduced social security and old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, a national employment service. It passed a labor-relations act and a minimum-wage law. It tripled outlays for naval expansion. It built low-cost housing projects. It established agricultural credit corporations. It set up a program of public works.

The government paid for these improvements by raising taxes on large incomes, borrowing heavily and going into debt. The entire era was marked by economic unrest and industrial strife. Conservatives castigated the great leader and accused the government of seeking to supplant the system of free enterprise by socialist planning.

In the field of foreign affairs the government pursued a good-neighbor policy. It signed reciprocal trade agreements with friendly nations, reversed a previous trend by making friends with Russia and grew increasingly hostile to German militarism.

Eight years after taking office the Administration found itself embroiled in the greatest war in history. It met the crisis resolutely by taking members of the opposition into the Cabinet, by calling a temporary halt to social reform and banning strikes. It set ceilings on prices, stabilized wages, mobilized its human and material resources into a gigantic production drive.

The war ended in sweeping victory, but instead of putting an end to international disputes, they were more intense than ever. The new organization of nations, united to preserve the peace, was quarrelsome and ineffective. World politics was dominated by fear of Russia. With the war's end, government controls were abandoned. Prices rose. Strikes for higher wages to meet higher living costs paralyzed the country.

In the face of these unparalleled problems, government leadership was vacillating and confused. The party, in power for 14 years, began to crack to its foundation. Labor made plans to bolt, the conservative bloc began to vote with the opposition, the liberals were disillusioned and leaderless. Party disintegration went forward rapidly.

Sixteen years after taking office this powerful political party crashed to defeat, never to rise again. It became a rump party, purposeless and futile, ground down between the millstones of the old conservatives and the new labor parties. Its votes were neither needed nor solicited.

We have been talking, of course, about the Liberal Party which held office in Great Britain between 1905 and 1922. Although its great leader, Lloyd George, did not die physically on the eve of victory, he was burnt out and dead, morally and spiritually.

And the party which he had held together by inspiration, by force of character and by a dynamic liberal program, had died with him.

Requiescat in Pace!

Ronald Schiller has been a free-lance writer and was on the staff of Life *and* Time *before he entered the Navy. He is now one of the editors of* Project X, *a new magazine sponsored by Marshall Field.*

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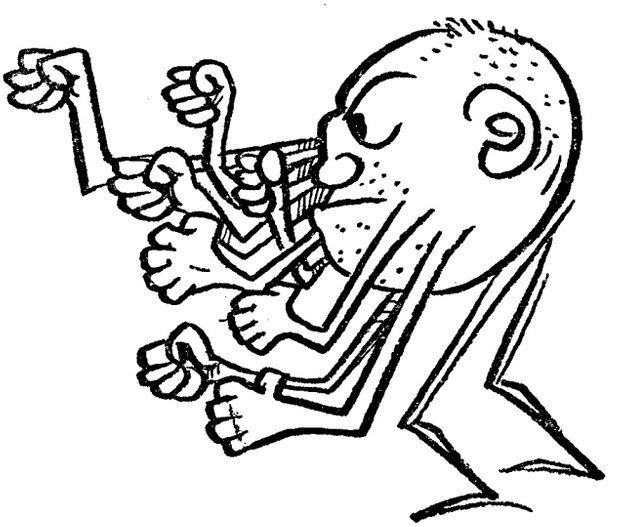
Cold Facts About Cold Cures

by R. M. Cunningham Jr.

THE COMMON COLD is a perfect pitch for the modern medicine man. Everybody has colds, so everybody is a potential customer. It is widely known that there isn't any specific cure for a cold, so nobody expects too much. All a cold medicine has to do is make the sufferer feel better, and he is going to feel better pretty soon anyway. These are the makings of a $100-million-a-year business in cold remedies.

To pile up $100 million making people feel better, you have to convince them first that they feel awful, and this is one of the main objectives of cold advertising. Radio and display copy emphasize muscular pains and soreness as inevitable accompaniments to a cold, preliminary to revealing the magic of some remedy—usually a simple analgesic like aspirin—which will make these "aches and miseries" miraculously vanish. Of course it isn't true that colds are always, or even often, accompanied by fever and general malaise. In fact, Dr. Russell L. Cecil of Cornell University Medical College stated in a recent issue of the Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine that "the vast majority of cases of common cold are trivial. With the help of aspirin and Scotch whiskey, the patient can keep on with his routine duties."

At variance with Dr. Cecil's dispassionate view of colds is this typical radio announcement, which wrings the most out of every insignificant or nonexistent pain: "When you've got a real cold, with all its aches and miseries, you want comforting relief quick! Grove Cold Tablets work on all these miseries at once:



Relief number one, reduce fever; relief number two, ease your headache; relief number three, alleviate body aches; relief number four, reduce nasal stuffiness; relief number five, lessen muscular pains." Other remedies besides Grove's also feature four-way and five-way methods. By including a little more anatomical detail, one resourceful manufacturer is able to offer a product that "fights colds eight ways"!

Such remedies are invariably made up of small quantities of well known drugs whose chief effects are analgesic and—on the old-fashioned principle, now largely discarded, that it is always a good idea to "clean out the system"—laxative. Grove's tablets, for example, have "not just one or two, but eight active medicinal ingredients that work internally on all the usual cold miseries at once." Grove's busy eight include acetanilid, an analgesic which also acts, as aspirin does, to reduce fever; belladonna, an antispasmodic drug; hyoscyamus, a sedative and analgesic; caffeine and capsicum, stimulants; and aloes, colocynth and podophyllin, cathartics. Radio announcers for Grove refer to this catch-all combination as "a multiple medicine, compounded like a doctor's prescription." Actually, with the exception of the laxatives, which don't do a cold any good and may under certain circumstances be harmful, the effect is very much like that of aspirin and whiskey.

Obviously aimed at exploiting the fact that these cold tablets, like prescriptions, have several ingredients with different specific functions, the sly reference to a doctor's prescription in the Grove copy is essentially misleading in its implication that the remedy has professional standing and is something a doctor might prescribe. The truth of the matter is that a patent medicine of this kind which is offered indiscriminately to relieve a wide variety of symptoms runs precisely contrary to the first principle of prescription writing, which is designed to combat a single person's ailments *after* they have been diagnosed. A recent editorial on

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this subject in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* underlines the deception in the Grove advertising: "Complex mixtures should not be ordered if simple ones will suffice," this says. "Unrelated substances such as purgatives and hypnotics are not properly included in a single prescription. They are best prescribed separately and timed in their administration to be most effective."

WITH EMPHASIS on the generalized symptoms that sometimes accompany a cold, Grove's tablets typify one kind of cold remedy. Another type includes those which are aimed at relieving the main symptom of every cold—nasal congestion. In the opinion of most

Drawn for the New Republic *by R. Osborn*

investigators, colds are caused by a virus which attacks the mucous membranes lining the nasal passageways, producing inflammation, swelling and excessive discharges of thick, watery mucus. Any medication which will reduce the swelling and check the flow of mucus will obviously bring relief from the feeling of stuffiness this condition causes. This is the function of the nose-drops and nasal inhalants which are widely advertised to "make breathing easier." All these products include drugs whose action constricts the blood vessels in the nasal area, reducing the swelling and quickly providing the advertised relief.

There is good scientific evidence, however, that these drugs do more harm than good. In the first place, it is believed today that many apparent "colds" are in fact allergies rather than infections. When this is the case, temporary medication to reduce the swelling is a dangerous procedure; the exposure which is responsible for the condition will produce it again as soon as the effects of the drug wear off; determination of the cause and appropriate steps toward correction are unnecessarily postponed, and meanwhile dependence on the drops or inhalant for comfortable breathing may become habitual.

These harmful results are complicated by an additional hazard if the symptoms are caused by a true virus infection. When an infection exists anywhere in the body, an oversupply of blood to the site is normal —the extra white cells are needed to combat the invading organisms. Thus when Vicks advertises that Va-tro-nol, its popular cold remedy, "shrinks swollen membranes," it is stating a fact but ignoring the more important fact that shrinkage is accomplished by shutting off the supply of needed blood. Moreover, an English medical journal warns that vasoconstrictors may interfere with proper functioning of the cilia—microscopic, hairlike structures which line the nasal membranes and help provide drainage of the mucus secreted in this area.

In an article setting forth the ill effects of nose-drops and inhalants, Dr. Austin E. Smith, secretary of the Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry of the American Medical Association, describes the whole unhappy sequence of events: "Some time after the swelling diminishes an actual upsurge of congestion follows, and the end effect is even more congestion. The sufferer blames this on the cold and not on the drug, so he uses the drug again and the cycle is repeated time after time, ending often in a chronically diseased membrane." Unfortunately, buyers of Mentholatum ("Don't go on suffering right through a heavy cold!"), Mistol ("Quick relief for stuffed-up miseries!") and Va-tro-nol ("Great way to relieve stuffiness . . . opens up clogged passages!") don't read the medical journals, and the makers of these products and an estimated 200 other nasal vaso-constrictors now on the market don't care what the medical journals say.

DR. CHESTER S. KEEFER of Boston, among others, has declared recently of the many attempted methods of preventing colds, "It can be said at once that none of them is effective." While no one has been bold enough to fly in the face of established scientific opinion and say positively that colds can be prevented, several advertisers are making oblique statements plainly aimed at creating precisely that impression. "Act fast—go after throat surface germs with Listerine!" commands a headline advertising the Lambert Pharmacal Company's familiar remedy for everything from dandruff to athlete's foot. "Start now!" the copy continues imperiously. "Go after throat surface germs before they go after you. Gargle Listerine Antiseptic. Actual tests showed reductions of bacteria on mouth and throat surfaces ranging up to 96.7 percent fifteen minutes after the gargle. What's more, in tests over a twelve-year period those who gargled Listerine twice a day had fewer colds, and usually had milder colds, and fewer sore throats, than those who did not."

These statements, and the tests on which they are based, were the subject of exhaustive hearings before the Federal Trade Commission two years ago, resulting eventually in "dismissal without prejudice" of the charge that the company's advertising is false, deceptive and misleading. This decision permits continued use of the advertising but leaves the issue in doubt,

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since even the commissioners who found in favor of the respondent were unwilling to declare that the matter was settled for good and call for outright dismissal. Both sides presented batteries of medical experts whose experiments demonstrated that Listerine did, or did not, destroy an appreciable number of infective organisms in the nose and throat; claims ranged all the way from Listerine's "96.7-percent reduction" down to one Commission witness who stated that less than one per-cent of the total bacteria could be removed by the processes under discussion.

In addition, Commission experts questioned the reliability of the diagnostic evidence in the clinical tests mentioned in the advertising, which purported to prove that people who gargled Listerine had fewer colds than those who didn't. The tests were statistically inadequate and improperly conducted from the standpoint of supervision, selection and recording, it was argued. While a majority of the commissioners eventually leaned the other way, as the decision indicates, the facts were sufficiently in doubt for one member, who filed a dissenting opinion, to write: "Respondent's representations as to the efficacy of Listerine in the treatment of colds are such as to preclude any conclusion other than that they are false and misleading in their entirety. It is uncontradicted in this record that colds generally start in the nasal cavity, which is out of reach of any gargle, and consequently respondent's preparation is useless in either the prevention or treatment of such colds or the complications resulting therefrom. . . . The consensus of medical opinion is that respondent's preparation is nothing more than a mild antiseptic with little or no value in the prevention of colds."

In view of the Commission's final decision there can be no doubt about the company's legal right to carry its advertising message, as it is ebulliently doing, to the public, though its moral right to make statements based on evidence about which there is so much uncertainty is open to grave question. Morality, however, has little standing where profits are concerned. Several months ago a New York advertising-agency executive named Howard G. Sawyer wrote for *Printers' Ink* an essay winningly entitled "The Consumer Is a Jerk," in which he defended advertisers, agencies and publishers for printing offensive advertising, on the ground that it sells merchandise and this is all that counts. In one unintentionally revealing sentence, Mr. Sawyer has laid bare the evil thing that is the matter with advertising, if not with the whole business economy: "Who can be expected," he asked, "to be so quixotic as to stand upon principles at the risk of losing the business?"

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Chester Bowles in Politics

by Elizabeth Donahue

FOR A WHILE, Chester Bowles had the professional Democratic politicians worried. When the lean, loose-gaited former economic stabilizer went on vacation a couple of weeks ago, key Democratic politicians noted the sudden, widespread popularity of Chester Bowles among consumer groups and the general buying public.

Even though it cost him his job, there was general agreement that for the time being, at least, Chester Bowles's name would be linked with the victory of the consumer in getting President Truman to veto the first version of the OPA-revival bill. Continually rising prices are keeping inflation and its control the hot issues for the November election. Chester Bowles's main problem in converting his tremendous momentary popularity with consumers into votes for Bowles in Connecticut ballot boxes is that the memory of the American public is notoriously short.

The first clue to his future rests with the Democrats of Connecticut. Bowles is said to be heading for a showdown with the powerful McMahon-Cummings combination which rules the state Democratic Party. Senator Brien McMahon and former Attorney General Homer Cummings privately claim 1,000 of the approximately 1,100 state-convention votes which will nominate a Governor and a Senator. They are said to be determined that the state party machine with its rich harvest of patronage shall not fall into the hands of this cocky amateur, although they are willing to back him for the Senate.

Bowles prefers to be Governor for very good reasons. Every important state official comes up for reappointment in 1947. If he were Governor, Bowles could put his own men in these key positions. With such a machine, he could undoubtedly control the Connecticut delegation to the 1948 Democratic convention, and it seems certain that Bowles would bring

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to the convention the same intrepid, stubborn kind of authority that carried through his daily battles with Congress and inflation.

Bowles is an advertising man who went into the business to make enough money to get out. He received his education at Choate and Yale. His family was not well off and he worked his way through college. At his boyhood home in Springfield, Massachusetts, the ghost of his grandfather, Samuel Bowles, provoked heated family discussions about the League of Nations, Negro welfare and the New Freedom. His contentious grandparent had founded the fighting Springfield *Republican*, which damned the "aristocratic dogmatism" of the late Henry Cabot Lodge.

In spite of his remarkable success in the advertising business, Bowles never liked it. He has been known to tell his OPA associates that he wishes he had been a coal digger—anything but an advertising man. His interest in public affairs increased after his second marriage. His wife is the former Dorothy Stebbins, who was a pupil of Connecticut Democratic Congresswoman Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse at the New School for Social Research. Mrs. Woodhouse will never be happy until she sees Chester in the White House. After gradually relinquishing his duties as an advertising tycoon, Bowles eventually became Connecticut OPA Administrator, while his wife was serving as the state's women's director of civilian defense.

The news that he was to be appointed to a post in the Washington price office reached Bowles as he was cruising FDR's favorite course along the coast of Maine in the spring of 1943. In a few months he was the OPA's top man, made his debut before Congress carrying 106 charts and promptly proceeded to admit the OPA's failures and outline its future.

WHILE he was OPA Administrator, Bowles arrived at his government office before 9 a. m., after depositing his three children at school. Frequently his lunch consisted of a sandwich at his desk, and he usually worked after hours. Late Washington afternoons often found newspaper or radio columnists going to the Stabilizer's office for a little private talk. Most of his evenings were spent quietly at home. Sometimes he had a few drinks with his associates and advisers; but Chester Bowles seldom made the Washington society columns.

His faith and his passionate pursuit of an ideal attracted a young, loyal corps of "brain-trusters" who strung along because they viewed him as one of the few key executives who had caught and held the fever of the Roosevelt era.

Bowles's big frame carries well tailored suits with elegant nonchalance. He has a battered fedora ready to toss into the ring. He sails his own boat and he and his wife are expert navigators. But the obvious parallel between Bowles and FDR can be overdrawn. Bowles, who can sell anything over a desk, projects a listless personality over the air and from the speaker's platform. As a result of a serious mastoid operation his mouth has a twist which gives an illusion of smiling good humor. He is gentle-spoken and seldom raises his voice. But he can be stubborn and unyielding, as he was in his battle to wrest control of the nation's economy from conservative John W. Snyder. Though he was fighting for a principle, his own power and prestige entered heavily into the fight.

Bowles threatened to resign if the President did not approve his, rather than Snyder's, steel wage-price order. He also demanded the authority to administer the order. Out of this struggle he won the directorship of the Office of Economic Stabilization. When representatives of the United Auto Workers later complained that Bowles was ignoring the order which directed that auto prices be hitched to profits, Bowles is said to have replied that the order was "so loosely drawn" that he found it difficult if not impossible to administer. It appears that the fort which President Truman had entrusted to him had a few large gaps in its walls.

IN CONSIDERING HIM for the White House, many point to the great holes in his knowledge of foreign affairs. He was a member of the America First Committee and refused to resign under pressure. No longer an isolationist, he views the world as a place where wars can be ended if the United States goes to work to provide the peoples of all nations with the necessities of life.

Bowles leaves Washington with the distinction of having the strong support of the leadership of the AFL and the CIO. But he has very few friends among the Democratic leaders in Connecticut. However, their statement that Bowles will have to "take what he gets" has a hollow sound. They fear he might upset the state convention, but they are even more afraid that Connecticut will go Republican unless Bowles's name is on the Democratic ticket.

Keenly aware that more Presidents have been recruited from the ranks of state Governors than from the rosters of the United States Senate, Bowles sweeps his long arms toward the Capitol and says, "A man gets lost up there." If he becomes Governor of Connecticut, he hopes to remake the state. He would start by tearing up the slums and beginning a large public-housing program.

But as yet, the 44-year-old Yankee has not entirely solved the dilemma of his own future. In addition to the Senate and the Governorship, there is the possibility that he will take a Willkie-like tour around the world. Whether he completes his political education abroad or locally, Bowles has sounded this note as the key to his political future: "If I am licked, I will go out in the streets and fight."

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Jazz without Beers

A LITTLE man with a big guitar—Eddie Condon—cocked an eye at the audience which had come to hear his first Town Hall jazz concert. There were enough people in the place for a soft-ball game, including two umpires and a coach on first. Condon cleared his throat.

"Lady and gentleman," he began.

This was scarcely an auspicious start. But the concerts have been going for a number of years now, featuring such exponents of small-band jazz as Max Kaminsky, Bobby Hackett, Bill Davison, Pee Wee Russell, Georg Brunis, George Wettling, Dave Tough—and they are tremendously popular today. Surrounded by this gathering of talent (dubbed the "barefoot mob" by one of the Bright Young Men who worship at the Condon shrine), Eddie has gone far in achieving recognition for jazz as one of America's most significant contributions to music.

Aside from occasional pompous attempts on Condon's part to imitate a symphony conductor (one of his musicians told me: "I've been working with Condon for a long time and I'd still like to know what the hell all those signals are"), the concerts have been well run and the music has been consistently good. Yet, while realizing the value of such a medium in bringing jazz to the discriminating ear, I look forward to the day when it won't be necessary to sit the public down in the awesome dignity of a concert hall for the purpose of playing a brand of music which was born and bred in an atmosphere of smoke, alcohol, loud talk, sex, police raids and similar factors contributing to adult delinquency. Jazz is the product of a tough, noisy environment, and that's where it ought to stay.

A concert hall is anything but conducive to the spontaneity of jazz, and while this quality isn't lacking at the Condon sessions, there simply isn't as much as there might be. Besides, while the musicians might be able to take this disconcerting atmosphere in their stride, it's much more difficult for the audience, particularly that element of it which is being initiated.

It's an unfortunate fact that too many intelligent people consider it their duty to become profound and humorless on the subject of jazz, and when the minor rituals attendant upon classical music are tacked on to a jazz concert, this sense of obligation builds up in the collective and individual subconscious of the audience. It's all very well to talk about the emotional conflicts and symbolism and other wonders that may be found in a twelve-bar blues chorus, but I think it's a good idea to remember that jazz is something to be enjoyed as spontaneously as it's played. A place which contributes little to enjoyment and much to a sense of intellectual duty is, to my mind, a hell of a place to listen to jazz, or, for that matter, any kind of music.

I have spent a number of years as a listener, and have done my share of fighting through smoke, noise, harassed waiters, peg-trousered adolescents and similar obstacles found in the places where jazz may be heard, but I can honestly say that the music in such places is infinitely superior to anything a "concert" can offer. And, thanks to men like Milt Gabler, Steve Smith, Alfred Lion, George Avakian and others, I've been able to hear an equally fine brand of jazz on records, issued both by the major recording companies and by those smaller ones which devote themselves exclusively to jazz.

What I'm trying to say is that the best way to listen to this kind of music is with a drink in your hand and a cigarette in your face. You can do this in a night club or at home, where no one will look down on you for not paying proper attention to a soul-searching chorus by Georg Brunis. For not only is a musician more at home on a bandstand or in a recording studio, but his listener, too, is more at ease, unburdened by the feeling that he must study every note that's played so as not to appear unappreciative of any esoteric Monday-morning quarterbacking.

Many of us, musicians and listeners alike, who have been around jazz for a long time, are very grateful to Eddie Condon for his part in putting jazz on the map. The musicians are becoming recognized as artists in their own right, and the fact that they've become happier financially has in no way affected the quality of their playing. And as for us old-time listeners, our reward is the new enthusiast, particularly the one who used to regard our love for jazz with amused tolerance. But Condon's greatest contribution is yet to come. I see no reason why the success of the jazz concert shouldn't reach the point where interest in jazz becomes nationwide, thereby obliging the night clubs, radio networks and recording companies to give the music its rightful place in its rightful home. Then we can give the concert hall back to the violinists. CHARLES MILLER

The Bandwagon

MOVIE STARS TRADE HERE. Buy glamor-thumbed books, postpaid, from Campbells, 10,918 Le Conte Avenue, Los Angeles 24, California. – *Advertisement in the* Saturday Review of Literature.

He [James W. Rouse, chairman of the GI-loan committee of the Mortgage Bankers' Association of America] pointed out that many veterans are buying property with little conception of the obligations they are assuming, merely because they must have a place to live. "We can expect a general lowering of the so-called moral attitude," he added. – *From the Chicago* Sun.

Her eyes sparkle. Her step is firm and sure. Her young, emotional heart swells with the joy of living. And now more than ever her active mind is seething with ideas, for she's just read another of Kathleen Norris' heart-stirring stories in *Cosmopolitan Magazine.* – *Advertisement in the* United States News.

. . . The "universal lowering of immigration barriers to displaced persons" . . . would mean that the United States would become the new home of millions of the most pestiferous and implacable pests on earth who would then want pensions, or relief, and spend the rest of their lives yowling about discrimination instead of grabbing shovels and going to work. – *From Westbrook Pegler's syndicated column.*

That All-Out Effort

Miss Candy Jones, famous New York model, and Harry Conover, internationally known pin-up girl expert, were married . . . on Thursday afternoon. . . . The groom is probably the most famous of the international "pin-up" experts in the United

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States, and has done much to lift the morale of the fighting forces through this medium during the war years.—*From the Hamilton (Ontario)* Spectator.

The Golden Rule

AVOID

evolution (as a word and as an idea)
social gospel (the idea and words connected with it)
brotherhood of man word and idea
racial equality word and idea
tolerance word and idea

—*From an article, "Writing the Religious 'Pulp'," in* Writer's Digest.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Immigration Here, Too

SIR: The *New Republic* is to be commended upon its vigorous seven-point "Program For Palestine" (July 15). But there was a serious mistake in its reckoning—one which, curiously, has been made by nearly all groups looking to a humane solution of the Jewish question.

The *New Republic* gave as the chief features of the Anglo-American Committee report admission of 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine, Palestine to be neither an Arab nor Jewish State, continuation of the mandate pending UN action on land-purchase restrictions, Arab-Jewish coöperation on power projects. It omitted the equally important feature which rated Recommendation Number 1 of the Report:

> Palestine alone cannot meet the emigration needs of the Jewish victims. . . . We therefore recommend that our governments . . . endeavor immediately to find new homes for all such displaced persons.

In short, the report referred also to some 500,000 European Jews, over and beyond the 100,000 figure, homeless and unwanted. It proposed that countries other than Palestine open their doors to immigration. Secretary Byrnes is reported to have said that he cannot see how the United States can dictate Palestine policy to Britain while our own door remains closed to such immigration.

Just how real is the beam in America's eye appears in these few facts on the nation's immigration record for the past decade. Immigration, controlled by a quota system for over 25 countries, is set at a total of about 157,000 annually. Britain alone accounts for 65,000 (which she never used up), Germany for 26,000. Quotas are not cumulative; those not filled simply expire. For years, quotas have gone unfilled. Although a total of some 1,695,000 foreign persons might have entered during the period 1933-1944, only about 285,000 came in under the quota system. Another 293,000 came on visitors' visas, but of these only an estimated 15,000 remained. According to President Truman, only 7 percent of the total quota for 1945 was used.

Many, including this writer, who have argued the justice of Britain's opening Palestine's gates to large-scale immigration, view American policy as, at best, Pecksniffian. It is up to the President and Congress to accept a true share of the burden by making use of the unfilled quotas.

New York City GERTRUDE SAMUELS

What to Do with Big Inch

SIR: On July 30, 1946, Mr. James Imbrie and I, with Judge Thurman W. Arnold and Abe Fortas as counsel, submitted a proposal to the War Assets Administration for the purchase of the famous Big Inch and Little Big Inch government-owned pipelines constructed for wartime purposes.

Under the proposal, the two lines would continue to transport oil and oil products, and a new 30-inch line would be constructed for the transmission of natural gas to the Northeast seaboard. Both the oil and gas lines would be organized in a mutual-coöperative corporation on a definite cost-of-service basis. The board of directors would consist of representatives from (1) the gas distributors and oil refiners and dealers, (2) the cities within the service areas, (3) the private bondholders, (4) labor and management and (5) the government. This makeup would assure actual compliance with the mutual cooperative purposes as intended.

The bid for the lines and their appurtenances is $70 million. The other 16 bids ranged upward to $146 million and, with one exception, represented the ordinary type of corporation devoted to getting maximum profits for the organizing group, with pyramided returns on a relatively small part of the total investment.

The mutual-coöperative bid was conservative in order to assure the attainment of the objectives fixed by Congress in the Surplus Property Act, to obviate monopolistic use of the properties, to stimulate competition through independent and small business, to preclude speculative profits and to assure that the benefits of the assets sold will in fact be conveyed to the ultimate consumers.

These national objectives can be obtained only through a mutual coöperative as proposed, unless outright public ownership and operation is adopted. They certainly cannot be attained through the prevailing type of private business corporations. I hope therefore that the *New Republic* will support the proposal as a means of assuring that these extremely important national assets will be devoted to the maximum economic and social advantage of the country.

New York City JOHN BAUER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

A. S. Bishop, Chairman, and Oliver Johnson, Treasurer, of the Committee for Foreign Correspondence of the Federation of Atomic Scientists, Box 615, Berkeley, California, write to tell us of the Committee's program to establish direct mail contact between scientists in this country and those in all parts of the world. The aim of the correspondence is to start coöperation for atomic-energy control by sending foreign scientists reports and bulletins on the work on control that Americans are doing. Our readers may participate by sending the Committee the names of foreign scientists to whom they would be willing to write, or the names of American friends who know foreign scientists, or by sending contributions to the Committee.

Herbert P. Lee of Portland, Oregon, writes us some suggestions on ways to help save the millions in Europe and Asia who are in danger of starvation. He suggests the restoration of rationing, so that we may send as great a diversity of foods as possible; that horse meat "would be preferred by anybody to starvation," and that rabbits, which multiply quickly, would also be a good source of food. He asks government intervention to stop black markets and strikes which interfere with food production, and he protests our sending white flour instead of wheat abroad, since white flour has almost no food value. Mr. Lee also says that lack of fertilizer can be met by pulverizing granite, basalt and other rocks rich in plant food.

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Books in Review

Cowley's Faulkner

MALCOLM COWLEY's editing of *The Portable Faulkner*[1] is remarkable on two counts. First, the selection from Faulkner's work is made not merely to give a cross section or a group of good examples but to demonstrate one of the principles of integration in the work. Second, the introductory essay is one of the few things ever written on Faulkner which is not hag-ridden by prejudice or preconception and which really sheds some light on the subject.

The selections here are made to describe the place, Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi, which is, as Cowley puts it, "Faulkner's mythical kingdom," and to give the history of that kingdom. The place is the locale of most of Faulkner's work. Its 2,400 square miles lie between the hills of North Mississippi and the rich, black bottom lands. It has a population of 15,611 persons, composing a society with characters as different as the Bundrens, the Snopeses, Ike McCaslin, Percy Grimm, Temple Drake, the Compsons, Christmas, Dilsey and the tall convict of *The Wild Palms*. No land in all fiction lives more vividly in its physical presence than this mythical county—the "pine-winey" afternoons, the nights with "a thin sickle of moon like the heel print of a boot in wet sand," the tremendous reach of the big river in flood, "yellow and sleepy in the afternoon," and the "little piddling creeks, that run backward one day and forward the next and come busting down on a man full of dead mules and hen houses," the ruined plantation which was Popeye's hangout, the swamps and fields and hot, dusty roads of the Frenchman's Bend section, and the remnants of the great original forests, "green with gloom" in summer, "if anything actually dimmer than they had been in November's gray dissolution, where even at noon the sun fell only in windless dappling upon the earth which never completely dried." And no land in all fiction is more painstakingly analyzed from the sociological standpoint. The descendants of the old families, the descendants of bushwhackers and carpetbaggers, the swamp rats, the Negro cooks and farm hands, bootleggers and gangsters, peddlers, college boys, tenant farmers, country store-keepers, county-seat lawyers are all here. The marks of class, occupation and history are fully rendered and we know completely their speech, dress, food, houses, manners and attitudes. Nature and sociology, geography and human geography, are scrupulously though effortlessly presented in Faulkner's work, and their significance for his work is very great; but the significance is of a conditioning order. They are, as it were, aspects of man's "doom"—a word of which Faulkner is very fond—but his manhood in the face of that doom is what is important.

Cowley's selections are made to give the description of the mythical kingdom, but more important, they are made to give its history. Most critics, even those who have most naïvely or deliberately misread the meaning of the fact, have been aware that the sense of the past is crucial in Faulkner's work. Cowley has here set up selections running in date of action from 1820 to 1940. The first, "A Justice," is a story about Ikkemotubbe, the nephew of a Chickasaw chief who went to New Orleans, where he received the name of *l'Homme*, which became Doom; who came back to the tribe to poison his way to the Man-ship; and who, in the end (in Faulkner's "history" though not in "A Justice" itself), swaps a mile square of "virgin north Mississippi dirt" for a racing mare owned by Jason Lycurgus Compson, the founder of the Compson family in Mississippi. The last selection, "Delta Autumn," shows us Isaac McCaslin, the man who brings the best of the old order, philosopher, aristocrat, woodsman, into the modern world and who gives the silver-mounted horn which General Compson had left him to a mulatto woman for her bastard son by a relative of McCaslin's. In between "A Justice" and "Delta Autumn" fall such pieces as the magnificent "Red Leaves," the profoundly symbolic story called "The Bear," the Civil War and Reconstruction stories, "Rain" (from *The Unvanquished*) and "Wash," "Old Man" (the story of the tall convict from *The Wild Palms*), and the often anthologized "That Evening Sun" and "A Rose for Emily," and the brilliant episode of "Percy Grimm" (from *Light in August*). There are other pieces included, but these are the best, and the best for showing the high points in the history of Yoknapatawpha County.

COWLEY's introduction undertakes to define the significance of place and history in Faulkner's work, that "labor of imagination that has not been equaled in our time." That labor is, as he points out, a double labor: "first, to invent a Mississippi county that was like a mythical kingdom, but was complete and living in all its details; second, to make his story of Yoknapatawpha County stand as a parable or legend of all the Deep South." The legend—called a legend "because it is obviously no more intended as a historical account of the country south of the Ohio than *The Scarlet Letter* was intended as a history of Massachusetts"—is, as Cowley defines it, this:

The South was settled by Sartorises (aristocrats) and Sutpens (nameless, ambitious men) who, seizing the land from the Indians, were determined to found an enduring and stable order. But despite their strength and integrity their project was, to use Faulkner's word, "accursed" by slavery, which, with the Civil War as instrument, frustrated their design. Their attempt to rebuild according to the old plan and old values was defeated by a combination of forces—the carpetbaggers and Snopeses ("a new exploiting class descended from the landless whites"). Most of the descendants of the old order are in various ways incompetent: they are prevented by their code from

[1] The Portable Faulkner, edited by Malcolm Cowley. New York: The Viking Press. 756 pages. $2. This is the first section of a two-part review. It will be concluded in our issue of August 19. —THE EDITORS

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competing with the codeless Snopeses, they cling to the letter and forget the spirit of their tradition, they lose contact with the realities of the present and escape into a dream world of alcohol or rhetoric or gentility or madness, they fall in love with defeat or death, they lose nerve and become cowards or they, like the last Jason in *The Sound and the Fury*, adopt Snopesism and become worse than any Snopes. Figures like Popeye (eyes like "rubber knobs," a creature having "that vicious depthless quality of stamped tin," the man "who made money and had nothing he could do with it, spend it for, since he knew that alcohol would kill him like poison, who had no friends and had never known a woman") are in their dehumanized quality symbols of modernism, for the society of finance capitalism. The violence of some of Faulkner's work is, according to Cowley, "an example of the Freudian method turned backward, being full of sexual nightmares that are in reality social symbols. It is somehow connected in the author's mind with what he regards as the rape and corruption of the South."

This is, in brief, Cowley's interpretation of the legend, and it provides an excellent way into Faulkner; it exactly serves the purpose which an introduction should serve. The interpretation is indebted, no doubt, to that of George Marion O'Donnell (the first and still an indispensable study of Faulkner's theme), but it modifies O'Donnell's tendency to read Faulkner with an allegorical rigidity and with a kind of doctrinal single-mindedness.

It is possible that the present view, however, should be somewhat modified, at least in emphasis. Although no writer is more deeply committed to a locality than Faulkner, the emphasis on the Southern elements may blind us to other elements, or at least other applications, of deep significance. And this is especially true in so far as the work is interpreted merely as Southern apologetics or, as it is by Maxwell Geismar, as the "extreme hallucinations" of a "cultural psychosis."

It is important, I think, that Faulkner's work be regarded not in terms of the South against the North, but in terms of issues which are common to our modern world. The legend is not merely a legend of the South, but is also a legend of our general plight and problem. The modern world is in moral confusion. It does suffer from a lack of discipline, of sanctions, of community of values, of a sense of a mission. It is a world in which self-interest, workableness, success, provide the standards. It is a world which is the victim of abstraction and of mechanism, or at least, at moments, feels itself to be. It can look back nostalgically upon the old world of traditional values and feel loss and perhaps despair—upon the world in which, as one of Faulkner's characters puts it, men "had the gift of living once or dying once instead of being diffused and scattered creatures drawn blindly from a grab bag and assembled"—a world in which men were, "integer for integer," more simple and complete. If it be objected that Faulkner's view is unrealistic, that had the old order satisfied human needs it would have survived, and that it is sentimental to hold that it was killed from the outside, the answer is clear in the work: the old order did not satisfy human needs—the Southern old order or any other—for it, not being founded on justice, was "accursed" and held the seeds of its own ruin in itself. But even in terms of the curse the old order, as opposed to the new order (in so far as the new is to be equated with Snopesism) allowed the traditional man to define himself as human by setting up codes, concepts of virtue, obligations, and by accepting the risks of his humanity. Within the traditional order was a notion of truth, even if man in the flow of things did not succeed in realizing that truth. Take, for instance, the passage from "The Bear":

> "All right," he said. "Listen." and read again, but only one stanza this time and closed the book and laid it on the table. "She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss," McCaslin said: "Forever wilt thou love, she be fair."
>
> "He's talking about a girl," he said.
>
> "He had to talk about something," McCaslin said. Then he said, "He was talking about truth. Truth is one. It doesn't change. It covers all things which touch the heart—honor and pride and pity and justice and courage and love. Do you see now?"

The human effort is what is important, the capacity to make the effort to rise above the mechanical process of life, the pride to endure, for in endurance there is a kind of self-conquest.

When it is said, as it is often said, that Faulkner's work is "backward-looking," the answer is that the constant ethical center is to be found in the glorification of the human effort and of human endurance, which are not in time, even though in modernity they seem to persist most surely among the despised and rejected. It is true that Faulkner's work contains a savage attack on modernity, but it is to be remembered that Elizabethan tragedy, for instance, contained just such an attack on its own special "modernity." (Ambition is the most constant tragic crime, and ambition is the attitude special to an opening society; all villains are rationalists and appeal to "nature" beyond traditional morality for justification, and rationalism is, in the sense implied here, the attitude special to the rise of a secular and scientific order before a new morality can be formulated.)

It is not ultimately important whether the traditional order (Southern or other) as depicted by Faulkner fits exactly the picture which critical historical method provides. Let it be granted, for the sake of discussion, that Faulkner does oversimplify the matter. What is ultimately important, both ethically and artistically, is the symbolic function of that order in relation to the world which is set in opposition to it. The opposition between the old order and the new does not, however, exhaust the picture. What of the order to come? "We will have to wait," old Ike McCaslin says to the mulatto girl who is in love with a white man. A curse may work itself out in time; and in such glimpses, which occur now and then, we get the notion of a grudging meliorism, a practical supplement to the idealism, like Ike McCaslin's, which finds compensation in the human effort and the contemplation of "truth."

The discussion, even at a larger scope and with more satisfactory analysis, of the central theme of Faulkner would not exhaust the interest of his work. In fact, the discussion of this question always runs the risk of making his work appear too schematic, too dry and too complacent

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when in actual fact it is full of rich detail, of shadings and complexities of attitude, or ironies and ambivalences. Cowley's introduction cautions the reader on this point and suggests various fruitful topics for investigation and thought. But I shall make bold—and in the general barrenness of criticism on Faulkner it does not require excessive boldness—to list and comment on certain topics which seem to me to demand further critical study.

Nature.—The vividness of the natural background is one of the impressive features of Faulkner's work. It is accurately observed, but observation only provides the stuff from which the characteristic effects are gained. It is the atmosphere which counts, the poetry, the infusion of feeling, the symbolic weight. Nature provides a backdrop—of lyric beauty (the meadow in the cow episode of *The Hamlet*), of homely charm (the trial scene of the "Spotted Horses" story from the same book), of sinister, brooding force (the river in "Old Man" from *The Wild Palms*), of massive dignity (the forest in "The Bear")—for the human action and passion. The indestructible beauty is there: "God created man," Ike McCaslin says in "Delta Autumn," "and He created the world for him to live in and I reckon He created the kind of world He would have wanted to live in if He had been a man."

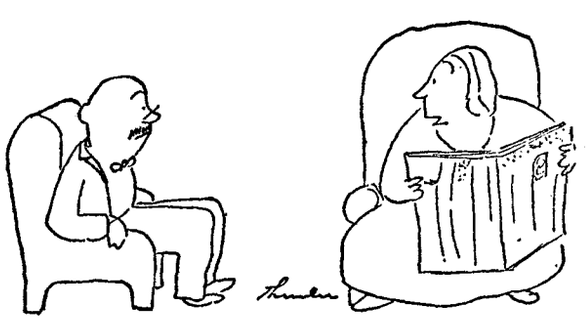
Ideally, if man were like God, as Ike McCaslin puts it, man's attitude toward nature would be one of pure contemplation, pure participation in its great forms and appearances; the appropriate attitude is love, for with Ike McCaslin the moment of love is equated with Godhood. But since man "wasn't quite God himself," since he lives in the world of flesh, he must be a hunter, user and violator. To return to McCaslin: God "put them both here: man and the game he would follow and kill, foreknowing it. I believe He said, 'So be it.' I reckon He even foreknew the end. But He said, 'I will give him his chance. I will give him warning and foreknowledge too, along with the desire to follow and the power to slay. The woods and the fields he ravages and the game he devastates will be the consequence and signature of his crime and guilt, and his punishment.'"

There is, then, a contamination implicit in the human condition—a kind of Original Sin, as it were—but it is possible, even in the contaminating act, the violation, for man to achieve some measure of redemption, a redemption through love. For instance, in "The Bear," the great legendary beast which is pursued for years to the death is also an object of love and veneration, and the symbol of virtue, and the deer hunt of "Delta Autumn" is for Ike McCaslin a ritual of renewal. Those who have learned the right relationship to nature—"the pride and humility" which young Ike McCaslin learns from the half-Negro, half-Indian Sam Fathers—are set over against those who have not. In "The Bear," General Compson speaks up to Cass McCaslin to defend the wish of the boy Ike McCaslin to stay an extra week in the woods: "'You got one foot straddled into a farm and the other foot straddled into a bank; you ain't even got a good hand-hold where this boy was already an old man long before you damned Sartorises and Edmondses invented farms and banks to keep yourselves from having to find out what this boy was born knowing and fearing too maybe, but without being afraid, that could go ten miles on a compass because he wanted to look at a bear none of us had ever got near enough to put a bullet in and looked at the bear and came the ten miles back on the compass in the dark; maybe by God that's the why and the wherefore of farms and banks.'"

Those who have the wrong attitude toward nature are the pure exploiters, the apostles of abstractionism, the truly evil men. For instance, the very opening of *Sanctuary* presents a distinction on this ground between Benbow and Popeye. While the threat of Popeye keeps Benbow crouching by the spring, he hears a Carolina wren sing, and even under these circumstances tries to recall the local name for it. And he says to Popeye: "And of course you don't know the name of it. I don't suppose you'd know a bird at all, without it was singing in a cage in a hotel lounge, or cost four dollars on a plate." Popeye, as we may remember, spits in the spring (he hates nature and must foul it), is afraid to go through the woods ("Through all them trees?" he demands when Benbow points out the short cut), and when an owl whisks past them in the twilight, claws at Benbow's coat with almost hysterical fear ("It's just an owl," Benbow said. 'It's nothing but an owl.'").

The pure exploiters, though they may gain ownership and use of a thing, never really have it; like Popeye, they are impotent. For instance, Flem Snopes, the central character and villain of *The Hamlet*, who brings the exploiter's mentality to Frenchman's Bend, finally marries Eula Varner, a kind of fertility goddess or earth goddess; but his ownership is meaningless, for she always refers to him as "that man" (she does not even have a name for him), and he has only got her after she has given herself willingly to one of the bold, hot-blooded boys of the neighborhood. In fact, nature can't, in one sense, be "owned." Ike McCaslin, in "The Bear," says of the land which has come down to him: "It was never Father's and Uncle Buddy's to bequeath me to repudiate, because it was never Grandfather's to bequeath them to bequeath me to repudiate, because it was never old Ikkemotubbe's to sell to Grandfather for bequeathment and repudiation Because it was never Ikkemotubbe's fathers' father's to bequeath Ikkemotubbe to sell to Grandfather or any man because on the instant when Ikkemotubbe discovered, realized, that he could sell it for money, on that instant it ceased ever to have been his forever, father to father, to father, and the man who bought it bought nothing."

The right attitude toward nature is, as a matter of fact, associated with the right attitude toward man, and the mere lust for power over nature is associated with the lust



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"Lippmann scares me this morning."

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for power over other men, for God gave the earth to man, we read in "The Bear," not "to hold for himself and his descendants inviolable title forever, generation after generation, to the oblongs and squares of the earth, but to hold the earth mutual and intact in the communal anonymity of brotherhood, and all the fee He asked was pity and humility and sufferance and endurance and the sweat of his face for bread." It is the failure of this pity which curses the earth (the land in Faulkner's particular country is "accursed" by chattel slavery, but slavery is simply one of the possible forms of the failure). But the rape of nature and the crime against man are always avenged. The rape of nature, the mere exploitation of it without love, is always avenged because the attitude which commits that crime also commits the crime against men which in turn exacts vengeance, so that man finally punishes himself. It is only by this line of reasoning that one can, I think, read the last page of "Delta Autumn":

> This land which man has deswamped and denuded and derivered in two generations so that white men can own plantations and commute every night to Memphis and black men own plantations and ride in Jim Crow cars to Chicago to live in millionaires' mansions on Lake Shore Drive; where white men rent farms and live like niggers and niggers crop on shares and live like animals; where cotton is planted and grows man-tall in the very cracks of the sidewalks, and usury and mortgage and bankruptcy and measureless wealth, Chinese and African and Aryan and Jew, all breed and spawn together until no man has time to say which one is which nor cares. . . . No wonder the ruined woods I used to know don't cry for retribution! he thought: The people who have destroyed it will accomplish its revenge.

The attitude toward nature in Faulkner's work, however, does not involve a sinking into nature. In Faulkner's mythology man has "suzerainty over the earth," he is not of the earth, and it is the human virtues which count—"pity and humility and sufferance and endurance." If we take even the extreme case of the idiot Snopes and his fixation on the cow in *The Hamlet* (a scene whose function in the total order of the book is to show that even the idiot pervert is superior to Flem), a scene which shows the human being as close as possible to the "natural" level, we find that the scene is the most lyrical in Faulkner's work: even the idiot is human and not animal, for only human desires, not animal, clothe themselves in poetry. I think that George Marion O'Donnell is right in pointing to the humanism-naturalism opposition in Faulkner's work, and over and over again we find that the point of some novel or story has to do with the human effort to find or create values in the mechanical round of experience—"not just to eat and evacuate and sleep warm," as Charlotte Rittenmeyer says in *The Wild Palms*, "so we can get up and eat and evacuate in order to sleep warm again," or not just to raise cotton to buy niggers to raise cotton to buy niggers, as it is put in another place. Even when a character seems to be caught in the iron ring of some compulsion, of some mechanical process (the hunted Negro of "Red Leaves," the tall convict of *The Wild Palms*, Christmas of *Light in August*), the effort may be discernible. And in Quentin's attempt, in *The Sound and the Fury*, to persuade his sister Caddy, who is pregnant by

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The Condemned Playground

The publication of *The Condemned Playground* will be considered by many critics as one of the most important events of the current publishing season. For Cyril Connolly is the brilliant editor of *Horizon*, the English literary magazine which has become the rallying point for everything that is young and vital in present-day English thought. Jacques Barzun opened a recent *Atlantic Monthly* article by saying, "The name of Cyril Connolly should be better known to American readers"—and *The Condemned Playground* undoubtedly will accomplish this purpose, for it contains 36 of Mr. Connolly's finest essays.

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George Orwell, *London Observer*

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one of the boys of Jefferson, to confess that she has committed incest with him, we find among other things the idea that "the horror" and "the clean flame" would be preferable to the meaninglessness of the "loud world."

ROBERT PENN WARREN

It Might Be Loaded

The Great Globe Itself: A Preface to World Affairs, by William C. Bullitt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 310 pages. $2.75.

THE PROBLEM of writing about Russia, to an extent that was never true of writing about Nazi Germany, has become for every responsible American a problem of personal conscience, of separating what might prove to be wishful thinking or unjustified prejudice from what can honestly be considered as ascertainable reality. In talking of Russia, one begins to feel like the self-questioning character in a Pirandello play who went about asking himself and others: "What is the truth?"

The reason why the task of passing judgment on Russia, and especially on its relations with other countries, proves so much more formidable than in the case of Nazi Germany, is that only an infinitesimal number of Americans came under the spell of Nazi doctrines, and even fewer found themselves in sympathy with the expansion of Hitler's rule to other countries. With Russia the situation is profoundly different. Many Americans who regarded Nazism as a step backward for Germany remain convinced that the revolution of 1917 will ultimately mark a step forward for the Russian people. What is even more important, many Americans have become aware during the war that the less advanced countries of Eastern Europe, the Near and Middle East, Asia and even Latin America, are not ripe for democratic institutions familiar to the Western world, and may have something to learn from Russia's experience, even if they do not want to adopt the practices of the Soviet system.

At the same time, even those Americans who are most friendly to Russia find it difficult to accept the thought that, after overthrowing Hitler's dictatorship, whose inhumanities had shocked the world, we may now be placed in the position of acquiescing in the dictatorship of Stalin and of tolerating what we consider as inhuman treatment of opposition groups not only in Russia, but also in Russian-occupied areas. Our self-searching is further confused by the fact that, while the suffering of the Russian people during the agonizing years of civil war, famine and purges aroused relatively little protest here, this suffering is now being widely recalled in order to denounce the Soviet government—not so much because of newly aroused sympathy for the Russians, but because of fear that Russia has become a threat to world peace, and thus to the United States.

The experience of William C. Bullitt as Ambassador to Russia (1933-1936), after sixteen years of non-recognition, and to France (1936-1940)—years that saw the rise of Hitler and the approach of World War II—entitles his book to consideration, even if his sharp swing from early enthusiasm for the Russian revolution to increasingly bitter hostility toward the Soviet regime (which he does not undertake to explain) inspires caution in appraising his conclusions. Mr. Bullitt, who at one time was regarded as in the confidence of President Roosevelt, contends that the President was "bamboozled" by advisers who assured him the wartime alliance with Russia could be cemented in time of peace; that he left to Churchill the unpleasant task of trying to prevent seizure by Russia of areas of Germany, for Russia itself and as compensation to the Poles for its own acquisition of eastern Poland; that at Yalta, already mortally ill, he allowed himself to be persuaded by Stalin into making far-reaching concessions to Russia in Asia as he had already done in Europe; and that it was his good fortune to die when he did, so that he did not have to witness the debacle of his "grand design," leaving the pieces to be picked up by Truman and Byrnes.

This analysis, which has a good deal of truth in it, would sound more convincing if certain other factors that affected the foreign policy of the United States during the period of critical danger were considered. Neither Russia nor the United States entered the war against Germany from choice, and neither entered it to save the other. There was thus no reason at the outset for mutual gratitude, except in so far as each, in the course of the war, derived benefit from the other's participation. From the point of view of the United States—and for President Roosevelt this must have been a primary consideration—it was of the utmost importance to keep Russia's armies in the field until Britain and the United States had prepared for the invasion of Europe from the West. From the point of view of Russia, it was equally important that American industry should work full blast, and supply the USSR, deficient in industrial facilities, with the equipment needed to defeat the armed forces of a highly industrialized Germany. From this coalition of Russia's land might with the air, naval and industrial power of the United States, Russia came out of the war in far worse shape than this country, since large areas of its territory and many of its industries, built literally with blood and sweat, were destroyed by the Germans.

MR. BULLITT contends that President Roosevelt should have insisted, as a condition of American lend-lease aid to Russia, that Stalin accept certain political terms for postwar Europe. Desirable as this might have been, it was hardly in the realm of practical politics. It would have meant, for Moscow, acceptance of a *status quo* on the continent which it considered, not without justification, as unfriendly, and hoped to see altered as a result of the war. It is true, as Mr. Bullitt points out, that in the course of wartime negotiations Stalin succeeded in obtaining conditions favorable to Russia in countries adjoining the borders of the USSR—and conditions that fundamentally altered the *status quo*. But that was due at least in part to the fact that the *status quo* was rapidly changing under the impact of war, civil strife and resistance to Nazi rule—and no Atlantic Charter could prevent these changes, or even channel them, when they began to assume torrential proportions, into the orderly reforms that might have proved feasible at an earlier date.

This is the crucial point which Mr. Bullitt neglects to discuss, both in his rapid survey of Europe's relations with

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the United States and Russia and in the program he offers for preventing further encroachments by the Soviet Union. Many of the suggestions Mr. Bullitt makes concerning American policy toward Russia would win general acceptance: support of the United Nations; assistance to all groups in Europe and elsewhere who support democratic ideas, among them the Socialists (although his briefly sketched proposal for a Defense League of Democratic States within the United Nations has implications that might well alarm Moscow, with or without immediate use of the atomic bomb); and the need, already stressed by John Foster Dulles, of a moral revival in the democracies under the guidance of religious leaders. The weakness of Mr. Bullitt's program—a weakness characteristic also of American foreign policy—is that while opposing Russia's ideas and practices, it offers little evidence of the concrete measures the United States could or should take to facilitate, in countries we would like to count among our friends, internal reforms that might make them invulnerable to communist propaganda.

During the inter-war years and especially in the 1930's, this country had an unrivaled opportunity to strengthen the forces of democracy in Europe through political understanding and through wise appraisal of its own position as the leading creditor nation. It was then—not in the midst of a grueling war—that the United States missed the chance of meeting the challenge of Russia. And it would be interesting to know whether Mr. Bullitt, Ambassador to France during the Blum regime, was as active in backing the Socialists in that country as he would now like us to be or whether, as was believed at the time, he found more interest in those Frenchmen for whom Russia, not Nazi Germany, was the enemy of the then existing order. Mr. Bullitt presents a vigorous case against Russia; but he does not give an equally vigorous presentation of his own convictions in favor of policies which, if followed by the United States before 1939, might have averted or at least mitigated our present dilemma.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

A Reader's List

The War on Malnutrition and Poverty, by J. Murray Luck (Harpers, $2.50.) Professor Luck, a biochemist and president of a consumers' coöperative, has written one book about his two great interests. The first half records with admirable precision the main facts about nutrition and undernourishment in the United States. It surveys the problems of food, health, deficiency diseases and their relation to income distribution. British experience with the problem of poverty is adequately summarized. The second half of the book deals with the rise of the coöperative movement. Professor Luck retells the familiar Rochdale story and presents some little known, as well as all the known, facts about coöperatives. Describing in detail how they work, he does not omit internal weaknesses. One cannot quarrel with the author's recital of the story of poverty, or with his advocacy of consumer coöperatives; but one can take exception to his assertion that coöperatives are "the most important contribution that has yet been made toward solving some of the economic difficulties of low-income groups."

The Economic Problem of Germany, by Alvin Johnson and Ernest Hamburger (Institute of Public Affairs, no charge). A detailed, scholarly analysis of the Potsdam declaration, this

THERE COMES A TIME when the reading public is ready for a warm and human book that is bright but not spot-lit, that is pleasant but not sugar-coated; that is forthright without vulgarity, that is happy without fantasy. **THERE COMES A TIME** when, in every community, there are men and women who have discovered liberalism and who want to read about a hero and heroine from their own liberal world. **THERE COMES A TIME** when thousands of readers exist for a novel in which the pursuit of happiness is a living adventure. **THERE COMES A TIME** when readers are ready to believe that a family can live in a railroad flat on a bank clerk's salary and still be vivid and individualistic and quite glamorous people. **THERE COMES A TIME** that's ripe for a story as warm as love, as real as a pay envelope, as modern as a white-collar union and as vital as children racing down the hall. We think this is such a time. We think that Thomas Bell, who wrote ALL BRIDES ARE BEAUTIFUL, has written such a book. Little, Brown and Company is publishing it; it's on sale at all bookstores at $2.50. And it's called **THERE COMES A TIME.**

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pamphlet voices a well guarded optimism about Germany's ultimate future. The authors concede that the destruction of transportation facilities, the imposition of separate zones, shortages of raw materials and the collapse of foreign trade create the almost insoluble problem of balancing minimum industrial efficiency against hopeless poverty and civil disorder. They believe, however, that fuel, fertilizers and tractors can help Germany feed herself, and that it will be quite possible to maintain selected industries for agriculture, and especially housing. The outlook for foreign trade, though, is dismal; Germany will have to emphasize domestic production for domestic consumption. The major question, however, is whether ". . . there is enough discipline left in the people of Germany to justify the hope that Germany will ultimately assume a useful place in the family of nations."

Planning No. 252. The Textile Machinery Industry (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, *25 cents).* This is the first of a series of broadsheets on the present state of British industries. Accumulated demands after six years of war create entirely new problems, says PEP. A huge backlog of domestic demand for textile machinery, estimated at 70 to 80 million pounds, and an export demand of at least 50 million pounds, offer both an opportunity and a justification for rapid expansion in this branch of British mechanical engineering. Yet the presence of many small industrial units, the failure to standardize equipment and heavy financial capitalization create a bias against the quick adoption of improvements. But without mechanization, larger foundries and automatic operations, the editors warn, Great Britain's textile-machinery industry will soon become but another archaic and depressed industrial center.

New Republic News

We read the Pullman Company advertisements about making reservations easier to get, and sat up with a sharp sense of shock. Somebody around the *NR* seems to have been living in an ivory tower. Whenever MS or BB or anyone else around the office takes it into his head to make a quick trip to Death Valley, Pernambuco or Timbuctoo, it never fails that the tickets and reservations for trains, berths, planes and ships turn up in nice white envelopes in a matter of a few hours.

A couple of inter-office calls and we found that the good gremlin responsible for this dream-world situation is George Owens, down in the *NR* circulation department. George has been getting train and plane reservations for *NR* people for a long, long time. Whenever some of our friends from overseas drop into the office and mention casually that they are on a 48-day lecture tour to Fort Worth and Seattle, by way of Toronto, Nashville, Tennessee and Croak Junction, and could we please help them line up some train tickets, George goes to work. A couple of hours and there they are—16 yards, three feet, two inches of tickets, with everything meeting everything else and allowing for the twenty minutes needed to crowd in a five-minute broadcast on "The Future of American Women," scheduled for a September 10 nationwide hookup from the top of Mount McKinley.

"We were just reading about the train reservation shortage in the newspaper, George," we said.

"Never have time to read the newspaper—just the *New Republic,*" he answered. "Excuse me, but I've got to run out and get some tickets for Mr. Bliven, who's going to Washington," he added, disappearing in the general direction of the elevator.

George admits to being past sixty, but he still scoots around in the best Owens tradition—he's a cousin of the great Jesse Owens, Ohio State and Olympic Games track star.

• • •

Charles Miller wrote a column on jazz for the Harvard *Crimson* and has worked for Paramount News. While in the Army he was with the Ordnance Office of Technical Information in Europe. He is now writing for radio.

Robert Penn Warren is professor of English at the University of Minnesota. His new novel, *All the King's Men,* is to be published on August 19 by Harcourt, Brace. His other novels are *At Heaven's Gate* and *Night Rider. Selected Poems 1923-1943* is also published by Harcourt, Brace.

Vera Micheles Dean is the research director of the Foreign Policy Association and editor of its publications.

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